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PROCEEDINGS

OF A

GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF

BENGAL PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES,

Held at Calcutta, September 4—7, 1855.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONFERENCE.

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GENERAL CONFERENCE

OF

BENGAL MISSIONARIES.

During the first week in September, there was held in Calcutta a series of meetings, of peculiar interest to those who watch the progress of the missionary cause in India. Owing to various circumstances, which rarely occur at one time, nearly all the missionaries residing in the country parts of the province of Bengal were brought to the chief town of the Presidency, and it was arranged that, with the Calcutta missionaries, a General Conference should be held to take into consideration the present position of the chief questions connected with their common work. The meetings of the Conference lasted four days, and by careful attention to orderly arrangements, a great amount of business was got through in that brief period. The greatest harmony prevailed throughout the numerous discussions: the attention of all was directed exclusively to missionary subjects; and not a word was said respecting those ecclesiastical differences which have so much divided the churches of Christendom. Indeed, it is believed that nowhere will be found a more complete Evangelical Alliance than has been practically maintained for many years amongst the Bengal Missionaries. Though belonging to many Churches and Societies, they are bound together in numerous instances by the closest ties of personal friendship, as well as of christian affection, and frequently unite both in labours and consultations to advance the Redeemer's cause. The following is a list of those Missionaries and others by

whom the Conference was formed: the great majority were present on every day of meeting.

MISSIONARIES.

Baptist Mission.

Rev. C. C. Aratoon, Calcutta.
„ C. B. Lewis, ditto.
„ G. Pearce, ditto.
„ W. Sampson, ditto.
„ J. Thomas, ditto.
„ J. Wenger, ditto.
„ T. Morgan, Howrah.
„ W. H. Denham, Serampore.
„ J. Trafford, ditto.
„ F. Supper, Cutwa.
„ J. Williamson, Beerbhoom.
„ J. Sale, Jessore.
„ J. Anderson, ditto.
„ J. C. Page, Burrisal.
„ T. Martin, ditto.
„ R. Bion, Dacca.
„ R. Robinson, ditto.
„ J. Johannes, Chittagong.

London Mission.

Rev. A. F. Lacroix, Calcutta.
„ J. Mullens, ditto.
„ E. Storrow, ditto.
„ W. H. Hill, ditto.

Cathedral Mission.

Rev. E. Yate, Calcutta.

Church Mission.

Rev. T. Sandys, Calcutta.
„ J. Long, ditto.
„ E. Stuart, ditto.
„ G. G. Cuthbert, ditto.
„ B. Geidt, Burdwan.
„ C. Neale, ditto.
„ C. H. Blumhardt, Krishnaghur.
„ J. Stern, ditto.
„ C. Bomwetch, Santipore.
„ C. Kruckeberg, Chupra, Krishnaghur.
„ F. Schurr, Kapasdanga, ditto.

Kirk of Scotland.

Rev. J. Ogilvie, Calcutta.
„ J. Anderson, ditto.
„ W. White, ditto.
„ J. W. Yule, ditto.

Free Church of Scotland.

Rev. D. Ewart, Calcutta.
„ T. Smith, ditto.
„ T. Gardiner, ditto.
„ J. Pourie, ditto.
„ J. Fordyce, ditto.
„ Lál Behári De, ditto.
„ Behári Lál Singh, ditto.
Mr. W. C. Fyfe, Chinsurah.
Rev. J. Bhattáchárjya, Bansbaria.

MEMBERS OF THE CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

Rev. J. Herdman, Chaplain of the Scotch Kirk, Calcutta.

J. C. Stanley, Esq. Elder, ditto, ditto.

Rev. J. Milne, Minister of the Free Church, ditto.

Rev. Dr. Boaz, Minister of the Union Chapel, ditto.

H. J. Muston, Esq. Treasurer of the Calcutta Tract Society.

H. Woodrow, Esq. R. S. Moncrieff, Esq.

E. B. Underhill, Esq. Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Total.—Fifty-five Members.

Secretary to the Conference.—Rev. J. Mullens.

The first meeting of the Conference, a meeting for prayer, was held in the side room of the Calcutta Town Hall, at half-past seven, on TUESDAY, Sept. 4th. The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert presided: and the Rev. Messrs. E. Storrow of Bhowanipore, J. Williamson of Beerbhoom, J. W. Yule of Calcutta, and C. Kruckeberg of Chuprah, Krishnaghur, led the devotions of the meeting.

After breakfasting together, the Missionaries held their first meeting for business at ten o'clock;

The REV. D. EWART, in the Chair.

Present: forty-three members, and ten visitors.

1. After singing, prayer was offered by the Rev. C. Neale of Burdwan.

2. The President then addressed the Conference on the object for which the missionary brethren had been called together; and expressed the hope that all discussions would be carried on in the spirit of Christian love, and that the meetings would prove very profitable to all present.

3. The Rev. J. Trafford of Serampore next moved, and the Rev. C. H. Blumhardt of Krishnaghur seconded the following Resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"THAT the Missionaries here assembled for consultation respecting the various agencies employed in their work, desire to record their thankfulness to their Lord and Redeemer for the opportunity of mutual improvement which he has thus

given. They desire also to express their great pleasure at meeting each other from so many missionary stations in Bengal, on an occasion so important and delightful. As servants of the only Redeemer of men, they avow a fervent attachment to the distinguishing doctrines of the Word of God respecting the fall and salvation of mankind; and an earnest desire to fulfil to the utmost their high and solemn duties as ambassadors of Christ in a heathen land. As brethren serving the same Master, they rejoice in the practical union which has existed among them for so many years, and desire continually to maintain and increase that union, in order that everywhere they may aid each other to advance, so far as human efforts can, the kingdom of Him, whose gospel of mercy they preach to a sinful world."

4. The President then called upon the Rev. J. Mullens to bring forward the first topic for consideration; upon which the following paper prepared by him, was read to the meeting:

On the Progress made by Christian Missions in Bengal.

Few subjects can furnish a more appropriate introduction to the discussions of this Conference, than the one which I have the honour to bring forward. The present is the first occasion, during the sixty years' progress of Protestant Missions in Bengal, on which the missionaries of all Societies, from the country as well as the chief town of the Presidency, have met to deliberate on their common affairs, and to endeavour, by bringing their experience into a common stock, to throw light upon each other's labours, and estimate the efficiency of each other's plans. While, therefore, the proprietors of steamboats and railroads, or the members of mercantile firms, calculate the results of their speculations, and look with an eager eye to the annual dividends they produce, we too may, at the outset of our meetings, survey the fruits which have sprung from missionary labours, examine the condition and efficiency of our systems of agency, and estimate from them the prospects which lie before us in future days.

It is, however, no easy task to trace in detail the various classes into which those results are divided, and to keep out of them factitious elements. It is not easy always to distinguish actual fruits from those which are alleged, and manifest results from those which are doubtful. The highest and most valued of all are patent to every eye: but others, of a minor kind, though leading to great results hereafter, lie somewhat in obscurity: and yet it would be neither wise nor just to our cause, to omit them as of no account. Some of these results are drawn directly and undoubtedly from certain well defined modes of operation: others are mixed up with the results of other agencies, which are working in harmony with missionary operations, though independent of them. As an illustration of this we may notice the great improvement that has taken place in Bengal, in the character and conduct of European society. Undoubtedly missionary effort, both in Calcutta and the mofussil, has been concerned in that improvement, and individual proofs of its usefulness can be given: but that effort is only one out of numerous causes that have contributed to that great end. The ministerial labours of pious and evangelical chaplains in Government service have been signally blessed: but perhaps the greatest cause has been the vast improvement of society in England itself. Not only have residents in this country *become* better, but a large number of better men have arrived in the country: and greatly contributed to raise the character of society at large. Other agencies also have been employed: and it is impossible to calculate the exact value of each, in producing the common result.

While the results themselves of missionary effort are, in some points, mixed up with those of other agencies, and therefore difficult to trace, another question, relating to their NATURE, complicates matters still further. Men differ in their views of what constitutes *legitimate results* of missionary labour, because they differ on the question: 'What ought the aim of missions to be?' How frequently is a plan or a system

of plans tested by the single question: 'How many converts has it already given?' Some consider that the sole aim in missions should be to secure converts as immediately and directly as the preaching of the gospel can draw them, to join converts in churches, and establish over them a native ministry. Others again will, to the above, add operations, which only mediately, and after delay, secure converts, while directly they conduce to prepare the minds of many for religious impression at a future period. The great worth of the English school-system turns on this very question. Those who hold only to the direct aim, will say, and have said, that it is no part of the duty of a Missionary Society to look merely for future results, or adopt plans which have chiefly the future in view. The English school-system has been condemned by them on that ground.

It is still farther complicated by another question which the Conference will shortly examine: the importance that may be attached to special circumstances which some regard as hinderances to the progress of the gospel. Allowing the omnipotence of the grace of God, and the direct agency of the Spirit of God in conversion, are all human obstacles alike? Is there no gradation in their individual character, or in their weight, when accumulated? According to our answer to these queries, will be the view we take of the efficiency and even the propriety of our plans. If (with some, who push very far their belief not merely in the omnipotence of Divine grace, but in the uniformity of its action) we count as of no weight the obstacles of caste, ancient shastras, lordly brahmans, habits of idolatry, and the like, we shall with them treat as useless, unappointed, and therefore sinful, every kind of secondary aid: every plan, in a word, which has in view a work of preparation; every agency that has a bearing chiefly on remote results. If consistent, we should then take no measures for removing the ignorance, the ill-founded confidence in idols, the bondage to caste maintained by habit and conviction, which prevail in all branches of Hindu society; but without previous warning or

explanation, we shall preach to old and young, in any language they can understand, that they are sinners in the sight of God, that He has provided the great salvation of the cross of Christ, and that they ought to accept it without delay. We shall act like troops, who in besieging a fort, think they require no parallels, no trenches, no system of blockade, no rifle-pits, no mines, but confident in their own powers, advance straight over obstacles of every kind, determined to take the place by storm. Such a position seems scarcely to agree with the words of our Lord, "Other men laboured, and ye have entered into their labours,"—or with those of the Apostle, "Be not weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." Both passages imply a time for present labour, a subsequent gathering of fruits. The question is by no means unimportant. If a large amount of missionary labour in India has been spent upon removing obstacles; and if obstacles be not nominal, and we find them really lessened: then have we gained much towards final results. But if they are really of no account, our labour has been wasted, and we are no nearer the triumphs of grace than we were before. All these questions are connected with the consideration of the progress which missions have made. We must first determine what end is legitimate, and what results are desirable. We must then settle whether obstacles are to be allowed or denied. According to the position we assume, will be our estimate of the value of that point which Indian Missions have now attained.

In examining the progress already made by Evangelical Missions, we ought first of all to consider the state of Bengal when missions began, at the commencement of this century. The East India Company's dominions were small, and Bengal itself was the most important of its provinces. The European officers, civil, military, and commercial, were few in number. Subordinate native officers had by far the greatest share in giving a complexion to the existing government. English society was in a most immoral state. Out of a popu-

lation of more than two thousand Europeans, only two hundred were females, or not more than one in ten. Infidel opinions, the offspring of the French revolution, were very common; while there were but three or four chaplains to conduct worship and give religious instruction; of whom only two, David Brown and his colleague, occupied a position of decided usefulness. Little indeed was thought, and less cared for the spiritual welfare of the heathen; it was the fashion rather to approve of their religion, as one of a mild character, suitable to the people among whom it had existed for ages. With such opinions, under such a state of society, it can be easily imagined that the impression made on the minds of the Hindus, in relation to the religion and morals of the English, was of the lowest, most degrading and most hostile kind. On the other hand, native society was in the most purely idolatrous condition, and exhibited the effects of idolatry in the most complete form. There was no Bengali Bible, not one christian tract; not one European or native preacher; no native christian church,* no native christian school. No one in public and in their own tongue invited the heathen to the cross of Christ, or taught of a better salvation than that hoped for in Boykuntho and Koilas. The whole country was given to idolatry. The bráhmans were as gods; their montros were divine talismans: the people knew scarcely any thing of the shástras; even the Kaysthos, the writer caste, now so intelligent, so well-acquainted with Bengáli literature, could know little of stories locked up in the sacred Sanskrit, and communicated to the vulgar only through the sing-song comments of professional expounders at the village festivals. The wealthy natives were all devoted to idolatry. The subservience to bráhmans of men like Kánto Bábu, and Bonomáli Sirkar, of Lokshmináráyun and Umachánd, the millionaires of the day, is well known. It was by them that many of the temples near Calcutta were built, and by them

* There were a few Christians connected with the Old Mission Church, the remains of a congregation built up by Mr. Kiernander. It is an undoubted fact that there were Bengalis among them.

idols were largely endowed. It was by them, too, that all the Hindu festivals were annually celebrated in the most pompous manner, with all their attending revels ; and it was from their gains, that sums were expended, which may almost be regarded as fabulous. Of these facts, Mr. Ward's book gives abundant illustrations. All the festivals were well maintained: all the more horrid and cruel rites were celebrated unchecked. Five hundred widows annually burnt themselves with their husbands in the six districts immediately round Calcutta ; the devotees swung from the Charak-post in multitudes ; and infants were thrown into the sea at Saugor : while in contrast a brahmin-bull was regarded with the highest veneration, and when injured by an accident, received the willing aid of the whole community to extricate him from his trouble. Hindu idolatry, in fact, with all its follies, monstrosities, and cruelties was received, and obeyed, without farther question than may arise from the doubts and waverings, natural at certain epochs to the human mind even when in slavery, and which even in India have produced the discussions of Sankar Acharjya, and the attempted reformation of Chaitanya the Fair. Thus given to idolatry, the common people had little hope of extricating themselves from the dense darkness of ignorance in which they were enveloped. They had no literature whatever: they had no schools worth the name ; their very language was all but unknown, except among the illiterate who spoke it, with all its rough, unsettled forms and rude provincialisms. How different is all this now. How changed are the country, the people, the Government, the European community, the press, and the world by which all are surrounded. Far be it from me to hint even for a moment, that the change has been wrought by missionary agency alone. There are numerous influences at work in addition to those brought and maintained by the Christian Church. There are national influences, connected with the Government and the policy which it adopts, both in the topics and the tone of its legislation, and in the spirit in which it desires its executive to be carried out.

There are commercial influences, developing a spirit of industry, making the people acquainted with skill and resources superior to their own, extraneous to their own, and belonging to a nation who, religiously condemned as impure, are acknowledged to be wonderfully able and wise. There are influences connected with secular education, with the great spread of the English language and literature. There are silent influences too, exerted in the mere intercourse with foreigners, and which are none the less powerful, because they are unconsciously received. All of these are working with the higher agencies directly employed by christian teachers for christian ends. Even the physical improvements need not be forgotten, for in the wonderful universe of God, even the least thing, which is good in itself, is found to bear with it a variety of influences for good, the benefits of which seem never to cease. Much of the good in European society may have come directly from Europe; but how much even of that is due to the glorious gospel, which during the last half century has enlightened and sanctified our own country in all its departments, and thus rendered it both directly and indirectly an agent for diffusing the highest blessings of the Christian religion throughout the world at large.

The results which have yet sprung from missionary labour in Bengal, may be divided into three classes :—

1. Those which may be termed *complete* or *final.*
2. *Agencies* which are efficient *aids to the labourer.*
3. *Agencies* which increase the *susceptibility of the hearers.*

It will not be necessary here to describe these results at any length. It will be quite sufficient to name them individually with the addition of a few words of explanation.

I. By *complete* or *finished* results, I mean those which are regarded as the ultimate end of christian missions.

1. Amongst the first must be named, *sincere converts;* converts who were once idolaters, but are now christian in name, in faith, and hope: serving Christ in this life, hoping for heaven when they die. Such converts have been gathered

from all parts of the country, and from all classes of society. To the poor the gospel is preached, and the poor chiefly accept it; but the rich and the high-born also have been sanctified by its grace and become partakers of its glorious hopes. At this very time the number of *native communicants* in Bengal, Orissa and Assam amounts to nearly 4,000. We cannot say that every individual is converted: we cannot say that all are perfect in their consistency, devout students of the word, and faithfully obedient to its precepts: we cannot avow that they excel the churches of the New Testament; nor will we deny that they have sad defects. But for some of these defects we may justly reckon that the state of native society around them is responsible: and nothing shall rob us of the satisfaction and thankfulness we feel that so large a number of natives has been brought, as far as human agency can bring them, into the privileges of the church. These are communicants now. But Christian Missions during these fifty years have received a large number besides, who have parted from earth to the glory for which they hoped. These should be justly reckoned amongst their best fruits. Of these some have been distinguished among their brethren, and their names are well known. We may add to them English converts, both those who received their first impressions of the truth through the agency of missions, and those in whom the christian life has been sustained by their means.

2. A *second* result we see in the establishment of *Native churches and congregations*. The association of christian natives in church fellowship is a step beyond their conversion as individuals. As churches they maintain public stated worship; publicly observe the rest of the sabbath: and publicly engage both to maintain and spread the gospel they have received. There are now nearly ninety churches in the country named, formed from the communicants referred to: and the congregations, of which they are the chief part, include 15,000 members, young and old. In these congregations church ordinances are observed, as amongst all christians in every part

of the world. They are not equally distributed throughout the country; but occur differently in different parts. They have been established chiefly in central Bengal, to the south of Calcutta, and in and near Cuttack. The western parts of Bengal, the north-eastern and northern parts are very deficient indeed in converts. Certain stations also have been comparatively unprofitable hitherto: as for instance Cutwa, Howrah, Chinsurah, Dinajpore, and Berhampore. One or two, like Midnapore, have been occupied irregularly and there are no converts at all. But four localities deserve special mention. The rice districts *south of Calcutta* received the gospel under the influence of very deep impressions nearly thirty years ago, and for a time many converts, distinguished by faith and zeal, entered the church. At the present time there are no less than twenty-three stations and churches existing among them, with a nominal christian population of 5,250 individuals. These congregations during the last few years have apparently fallen back very much, and given their missionary pastors of all denominations considerable pain. The establishment of the Church Missions in *Krishnaghur* is too well known to all here to require more than mention. The Christians now number 5,069 individuals, of whom 464 are communicants. The movement in *Burrisal* also has been of great importance, has exhibited the powerful working of the Spirit of God, and has produced already most gratifying results. Not the least sign of a real prosperity is the bitter persecution of the converts by their zemindárs. There are now 233 church-members and the community amounts to 2,000 Christians. The churches of the Orissa Mission exhibit a most gratifying progress. They are the growth of only thirty years. But in a country full of idolatry, inhabited by a pure Hindu race, including numerous bráhmans, among a people well acquainted with the legends and shástras of their religion, the gospel has met with great success. Station after station has been founded, and church after church been established. Without any remarkable movement, and as the result

of steady progress, there are now in the mission six churches, with 350 church-members and a christian community of 1,100 individuals. One of the most prosperous individual churches has been the church at Jessore, which has become the nucleus of a little cluster of churches, numbering 166 members. We must not forget here the fact strikingly brought out by Mr. Pearce a few years ago, that the progress of these churches and of individual converts has been in an increasing ratio, as well as in largely increased numbers; and that the progress of the past furnishes the strongest ground for hope of very large and striking success in years not very distant. As an illustration of this increasing ratio, it may be stated that no less than fifty-five converts have been received from the Calcutta Missionary Institutions during the last eight years.

3. A third result of a direct kind is the raising up of *native agents* to join European missionaries in prosecuting the church's work. As converted men, we may rejoice over them much; to see them give themselves to the Lord's work, is a still higher pleasure. Of *natives ordained* to the ministry, there have been hitherto but very few: a high standard having been maintained. But there has been a large number of *catechists*, of whom many have lived a most useful life and left behind them an honoured name. Their present number is 130. Most missions also now enjoy the services of christian school teachers. How great a step in advance this is, can be appreciated only by those who have carried on their work unattended by native preachers; superintending schools, taught by Hindu sirkars, whose pleasure it often was to unteach the christian truth, which the missionary himself had endeavoured to impress upon his scholars' minds.

These three results are fruits of the highest kind. In carrying on missions, we labour and pray for converts, for churches, for native preachers, for native pastors. It is a serious defect that shows us what we have not attained, and what we must yet strive for, that we have not yet one church really supporting its own pastor, and striving to push forward

an agency of its own among the surrounding heathen. But thankful for what we have obtained, we should strive to press towards other attainments that hitherto lie beyond our reach.

II. The *second* point, which exhibits the missions of the present day as greatly in advance of those first established is, the AGENCIES now at command for *securing the efficiency of the labourer*. Like the tools and instruments of the engineer, these agencies are both *results* of missionary labour, and *means* for prosecuting such labour more efficiently. Respecting their value I think there will be little dispute.

The first great improvement in the *Bengáli language* was due to missionary efforts, and to such its present flexibility and the large store of its words are greatly owing. An immense amount of work in preparing both the language and literature has been got through, that will never require to be done again. The Dictionary, Grammar and Vocabulary need not again occupy the attention of missionaries in general. Standard native works have been pointed out, brought forward, and sometimes edited. The impulse thus given has been taken up and pressed still farther by native writers and scholars; and missionaries may now enjoy its results and turn them to their own account, without the drudgery to which their earlier predecessors were compelled to resort. Akin to these works are others descriptive of native life, the country and the Hindu religion, all of which shorten the period employed in preparing the newly arrived missionary for an efficient entrance upon his work. The christian literature absolutely necessary for the instruction both of heathen and christian natives has reached a high point. The translation of the Bible occupies in this literature the first place: copies of its various parts being available in thousands for judicious distribution. There exists also a valuable series of christian tracts suitable for Hindus. Others suitable for converts and catechists: hymn-books, prayer-books, catechisms, sermons, have all been secured: and besides them there are christian school-books fitted both for heathen and christian schools. Numerous books also of the same

kind are available in English, whether for the help of the missionary, of converts, or of scholars. Though much is still required, yet, with by far the majority of missionaries, this branch of missionary labour need not occupy time, while the direct work of preaching stands still: it is sufficient that hours of indoor rest and relaxation be employed in producing new works or improving the old.

2. Great advance is exhibited in the *systems of agency* established and in operation. Stations for the residence of missionaries, the localizing of native churches, with their necessary chapels, school-houses, and bazar chapels, have long been in action. It has long been known how, and when public services may be rendered most useful to the heathen. The style of address, the class of subjects, the objection that is sure to be offered, and the reply that is not only most logical, but most convincing to the objectors, have long since been found out. And though the modes of thought, the expressions, the reasonings of oriental life differ so widely from those of life in the western world, yet new missionaries may with comparative speed acquire a knowledge of them all, from those already in the country. The school routine also, the books taught, the best mode of explaining things, the mode and style of itinerating have all been systematized.

3. Powerful *auxiliaries* have been raised in the country to aid missionary labours. It is long since the English churches of Calcutta formed Bible and Tract and Missionary Societies; and great has been the liberality displayed towards them by the whole religious community, whether in town or country, during many years.

One mode of presenting to the mind an impressive view of the worth of all this agency, is to contrast the position of the three Baptist brethren who arrived the other day, with that of Dr. Carey, when he left Calcutta to enter the Sunderbuns, and go he knew not whither. They find airy houses and kind friends to give them wise advice on the proper care of their health, books to aid them in learning the language, and in

studying the habits, notions and religion of the people. There are native churches where they may commence preaching, and bazar chapels where that preaching may be carried on in its most perfect forms. They have books for the christians, tracts and gospels for the heathen, school-books for schools, hymn-books for worship. In a word, they find every element of a material agency ready to their hand; and if a new missionary were to bring with him a knowledge of the language and of the people, he could begin to labour here, just as well as he would have begun in England. So complete is the system, without our receiving the highest fruits we look for in the conversion of souls, that we are beginning to search for something better. Our European friends seem taxed to the utmost for contributions; the missionary societies in this country have reached the limit of their expenditure (like their great contemporaries in Europe.) And we are here to-day with the express purpose of enquiring, whether we can add to our agency, or with advantage alter it; whether any part has done its work, and, like an old garment, can be laid aside for something better.

III. The results of the third kind, I can only barely mention. They are those which increase the *susceptibility of the hearers.* They include all the fruits which shew a diminution of the *obstacles,* by which missions are impeded, in the notions and state of society among the people. Great crimes against humanity have been removed; infanticide at Saugor, human sacrifice, and Suttee. The people have learned a great deal concerning the true character of their own religion. Idolatry, the wickedness of the gods, the inconsistencies of the shastras, pantheistic and fatalist views, have been fully exposed; and are to some extent allowed to be evil. The shastras are not reserved, as they were, exclusively to the priests; neither they nor the bráhmans are so highly regarded as before: the bráhmans are afraid of missionary discussions; festivals have considerably fallen away, especially the churruck; caste, though submitted to, is borne with less satisfaction, and in many

points is continually broken through by the Hindus of the present generation among themselves, though the breach of its rules is silently ignored. Education, the knowledge of the English language and English science, once deemed hostile and dangerous, are most eagerly desired.

On the other hand, the gospel is extensively known: its leading truth, salvation by Jesus alone, is widely understood. Missionaries also, their object, their character, and their teaching, are better known even in the country villages, and the people are not so afraid of them as they were. The tracts and gospels are extensively desired and willingly received. Controversy has greatly diminished, and the people listen to the gospel quietly. These things differ in different parts of the country: those which have been most visited and addressed, exhibit them best. But the western and northern parts of Bengal are, in the state of their knowledge and feeling, much behind the central districts; though on the other hand they are more simple in their manners, and less hardened to the truth on account of its effects on their caste.

There is every hope that these things will continue to improve, and that, at a more rapid rate in the future than in the past. Hinduism is going down-hill. The same agencies which have produced the change, are now in operation, more numerous and more powerful than ever. The English rule in the country keeps each step we gain, confirms what we do, and sets in motion influences which act with ours. There is no sign of going back. We have obtained a real hold on the country, we should now resolve to go forward more earnestly than before.

Taking all these things into consideration, shall we not say with truth and with thankfulness, like the captive Jews: "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad?"

The following is a brief outline of the discussion which ensued on the subject of this paper:—

The Rev. J. Williamson of Beerbhoom regarded this meeting as calculated to afford very great pleasure and profit to all, but especially to those who, like himself, have long been labouring in remote stations. All may impart something, and all may receive some benefit. As to the paper that has been read, he agrees to all that it contains. As to the improvement in the character of Europeans referred to, he could bear testimony to what he had seen. There has been a great number of changes among the Government officials since he first went to Beerbhoom: while at first all who came were irreligious, a large proportion of those who have lately been in that station have been men well affected towards missions, and several of them thoroughly christian men. He can also bear testimony to the fact that even in so remote a district as his, a large amount of knowledge as to the nature and character of Christianity has been diffused among the natives. He ought to say that he considers that a great deal of this knowledge is traceable to the educational Institutions established and conducted by missionaries in Calcutta and elsewhere. Whenever he has met with a man better acquainted than others with the gospel system, he has almost invariably found that he has been educated in the Free Church Institution, or some similar establishment; and he knows that these men are in the habit of speaking in favour of Christianity and recommending it to their countrymen. As to the character of the native converts, he believes that there is a great and gradual elevation going on. They are still weak, and imperfect in many respects; but of multitudes of them he confidently believes that the root of the matter is in them, and that they will constantly improve in every christian grace.

The Rev. Mr. Lacroix of Calcutta can testify to the truth of every one of Mr. Mullens's statements. He has seen the state of things for thirty-three years, and has observed a gradual and constant progress. While we are often lamenting how little success we have had, those who can compare the present with the past, must see abundant cause of thankfulness and hope for the future. Hence it is that no class of missionaries keep up their spirits better, or entertain more sanguine hopes of ultimate success, than the old men who have been longest in the field. What a change has taken place in the country, since he first came to it. Many of his younger brethren already begin to look upon Suttee, for example, as a practice that prevailed in some remote antiquity; but he has seen Suttees again and again, has talked with the women while on the pile, and has heard their screams while the flames rose around them. It is true that there is much that is yet imperfect, much that will take a long time to bring to maturity. So it was in other countries and in former days, and we must expect that it should be the same in this country now.

The Rev. T. Sandys of Calcutta said, that he saw abundant cause to

thank God for the success of the past. No part of his work gave him more satisfaction in the retrospect, than the numerous instances of converts who have died looking for salvation to Jesus Christ alone. Yet it is not to be concealed that the native christians generally do not present that lively exhibition of Divine grace which we all desire. Hitherto the native church has had too much of a dependent character. It has exhibited little of that divine energy which would lead it to vigorous efforts for its own extension. He united with Mr. Lacroix in testifying to the great change that has taken place in native feelings since he first came to India. He well remembered that at that time he had charge of a circle of small Bengali schools, which he visited regularly. On occasion of these visits he was accustomed to collect the people in the neighbourhood and to address them, and he well recollects that in those days, people were absolutely afraid to take a book or a tract, and many were seized with a violent fit of trembling when one was offered to them: whereas now they receive them willingly.

The Rev. G. Pearce of Calcutta expressed the obligation under which he felt that Mr. Mullens had laid the Conference, by his comprehensive, clear and just view of the state of things. It is now twenty-nine years since he first arrived and he might be allowed to confirm Mr. Lacroix's statement in so far as he is concerned, that his hopes are stronger now than at any previous period of his career. As to the native christians, he has had much to do with them, and while he would not say that all has been precisely as he would have desired, he would say that he has met with much that is comforting and encouraging. He knows many individuals of whose conversion to God he has as little doubt as of his own. The character of the body is improving from year to year: and we have arrived at that point in the history of our Missions at which we may justly look to our native christians to take a fair portion of missionary work upon themselves.

Dr. Boaz thought the paper had given a clear and concise statement of the progress hitherto made by the gospel in Bengal. It had not however, dealt with the question whether that success was equal to the labour bestowed. This was however, difficult to determine: but for his own part he thought it was.

The Rev. T. Smith of Calcutta, said: It is customary in calculating the numbers of native christians to state those who profess the christian faith, and then to strike off a large number under the designation of nominal Christians. With this he had no fault to find. It is necessary, and he does not believe that there is any church in Christendom in which the number of professing christians and that of real christians are the same. The net cast into the sea has every where brought out

bad as well as good fish. But then ought we not in fairness to add on the other side a number, which he believes to be very large, who may have been savingly converted to God, but who have not had courage to profess their faith before men? That such a class should exist we may regret. But still the fact is that such a class exists, and probably to a much larger extent than we are aware of. Facts are frequently coming to the knowledge of missionaries almost accidentally, which make evident the existence of such a class. He has himself known several instances among the young men who have been educated in the Institution with which he is connected. Young men have gone on for years, worshipping God in secret, and refusing to take part in idolatrous services, but without making any positive profession of faith in Christ: until on a death-bed they have reproached themselves for so long concealing their convictions, and have urged upon their companions to shew more decision than they have done. As to the character of native christians generally, he suspected that people at a distance are apt to form too high ideas of what we have a right to expect of them. But when we consider the adverse influences under which they have been educated, the thousands of evil habits that they have unconsciously formed under the influence of heathenism, we shall perhaps come to the conclusion that we have no right to form expectations so high. We know that in the churches founded by the Apostles the same evils existed, and they were not cured in one generation. We cannot read the Epistles to the churches, without seeing that as great evils existed in the primitive church as exist in our native churches. What it is reasonable for us to expect is, that our christians here and there should triumph over all adverse influences, but not that the general body should. And such we find to be precisely the state of the case. A few men in each generation will ever be found to shoot far ahead of their contemporaries, and through their influence the community is gradually advanced, so that the average of each generation is higher than that of the preceding. Now precisely such a process is at work here.

The Rev. W. H. Hill of Calcutta wished to ask two questions, in reference to what had been said by Mr. Smith: Have the elder missionaries noticed any change for the better in the members of our churches? and is the character of educated native christians much better than that of the uneducated?

The Rev. G. Pearce, the Rev. C. Kruckeberg, and the Rev. C. H. Blumhardt mentioned various facts, in answer to these enquiries, shewing a decided improvement in native christians of the present day. The Rev. J. Wenger also stated that from his own experience he observed that the average standard of their character is much higher than it was sixteen years ago.

The Rev. J. Sale of Jessore stated, that his mind had been much cheered by the view given by Mr. Mullens. One effect of this Conference will be to make us understand more clearly the results of one another's operations, and to make us look with more respect upon those who follow plans different from our own. Mr. Mullens's remarks are strictly applicable to the Jessore district. In that district there are many converts from Muhammadanism, and he had great pleasure in bearing testimony to the high character of those christians. If we can once gain the ear of the Musalmáns, there is every reason to expect that they will judge fairly and act manfully. Amongst the churches formed of Musalmán converts in Jessore, there is a pleasing independence of spirit, a desire to do what they can for the spread of the gospel, and a disposition to prove all things and hold fast that which is good. Since he came to Calcutta, he had heard that there is a considerable movement among the Musalmáns in Jessore, and this is due entirely to the influence of the converts themselves. When all is taken into account, and allowance is made for the unfavourable circumstances in which native christians have been brought up, it will probably be found that many of them will stand higher than many of us who have enjoyed so much greater privileges. He must confess that the converts from Hinduism are not so satisfactory as those from Muhammadanism, yet there are many good, and some very good amongst them. He believes it may be safely stated, that those who know native christians best, esteem them most.

The Rev. R. Bion of Dacca can testify that the gospel has made great progress in the districts of Eastern Bengal. This is evinced not only by the number of converts, but also by the number of hearers, and by the remarks that these hearers continually make. In all the villages around Dacca, and in Mymensingh, Tipperah and the other districts in which he itinerates, there are large crowds constantly eager to listen to the gospel. He addresses now and then thousands at Melás for two hours together and not one shews weariness or dislike. In new places the people are often afraid and run away, but he sends his child amongst them and this gives them confidence, by showing that his purposes are peaceful. They then collect in crowds and entreat him to come again. In all these districts there is scarcely ever an objection offered. In Dacca there is preaching in the public market-place once a week, either by himself or his assistants. The people listen with eagerness, and even the Musalmáns say that they have nothing to object. Often such remarks as these are made, "Preach on. Distribute books. You will succeed. The Kali Yúg is near to its end, we will all soon become christians." The people are all desirous of reading our books, and in many places they regularly meet and form themselves into little societies to read the Bible together. He knows an

instance in which a bráhman pundit collects the people of his village every day and reads the Bible to them. He recently baptized a man who got a New Testament from him in a remote village in 1851. Since that time he has been constantly reading it to his relatives and neighbours; and two of them have come seeking baptism, while fifteen families have made application that means may be employed for their instruction in christian truth. The Conference have doubtless heard of the Satya Gurus. Their Mohant or chief is in some respects a bad man, but even he allows the catechists to preach to his disciples and shews them kindness. He was lately told by an elderly man that his son had died a christian, that he had got a New Testament and a tract, that he read them continually and that on his death-bed he formally renounced Hinduism and professed Christianity. Eastern Bengal is ripe for the harvest. In Mymensingh the feelings of respectable natives are greatly changed. They are now more favourable to the gospel than the lower classes of the people. He was lately told by the civil surgeon of the station of a zemindar who requested his son to read the Bible to him when he was dying, and that this son continues to read it regularly and has begun to observe the Sabbath, by ceasing from all work and making all his people rest on that day. In his itinerancies he is frequently invited by respectable natives to lodge in their houses. Every one who has strength and a voice ought to preach Jesus and Him crucified to the Hindus and Musalmáns. In Eastern Bengal there are 18,000,000 of people, and every where the people are eager to hear the gospel. As to the character of the converts he would only state that last year the people of Comillah were greatly persecuted. They are without exception very poor; yet they showed great firmness and not one of them wavered in his attachment to the gospel. As he is constantly away from home, the members of his church are left much to themselves, and he joyfully testifies, that upon the whole, their conduct gives him the greatest satisfaction.

The Rev. Mr. Schurr of Krishnaghur has met with much encouragement in the Krishnaghur district. It is true that things are not all as they might be desired, but there are many signs of progress. When he first came, he had not a single native helper, and now he has four young men who are faithful and zealous in preaching the gospel. They report most encouragingly as to the reception that they meet with. The books distributed are more read than is generally known or believed. A sort of christian public feeling has been formed amongst the members of his church which did not exist formerly. Many of the christians and teachers say that if the Mission were broken up, and the European missionaries removed, they would still adhere to the gospel and preach it to others.

Resolution respecting the progress of the Gospel.

In respect to the subject of this discussion, the following Resolution was adopted unanimously:

"That the members of this Conference express a general concurrence in the sentiments of the preceding paper. They consider that it gives a clear and comprehensive view of the progress of missionary work in Bengal, and of the position which it has now attained. They acknowledge with much thankfulness that the Lord has given to his servants sincere converts; many native churches with large congregations; and useful native assistants, of whom some have been ordained to the ministry; but they regret that hitherto no native church has begun to support its own native pastor. They find a complete material agency now available for the use of missionary labourers, and earnestly desire that they may be enabled to apply it most efficiently to the service for which it is intended. They regard also with much pleasure the preparation of the people generally for a more ready reception of the gospel, in the removal of some inhuman rites, and the decay of others; in increased knowledge of the follies of their own religions, and increased acquaintance with the gospel of divine grace. But while thankful for these marked signs of present progress, and of future sure success, they feel there is no reason for self-complacency in what has been done: they would rather humble themselves before the pure eye of God under a sense of their own deficiencies; and, surveying the vast field that remains unblest with the gospel, they pray for special grace that they may labour in the Lord's work with deeper piety, purer self-denial, higher motives, and more believing prayer."

Tuesday Afternoon.

The consideration of the progress of Missions in Bengal occupied the Conference during the whole of the morning sitting. After a short rest at one o'clock, the business of the day

was resumed, and a hymn having been sung, the Rev. A. F. Lacroix introduced the next topic by reading to the meeting the following paper:

On the peculiar difficulties encountered by Missions in Bengal.

On account of my long residence in this country and consequent practical acquaintance with missionary work I have been requested to lay before this conference a few thoughts respecting *the peculiar difficulties with which Missionaries in Bengal have to contend.* It was thought that the consideration of these difficulties might assist in fixing on such modes of operation as are best suited to the country in which we are labouring; and so contribute to the advancement of the good cause which we have all at heart.

That a thorough knowledge of the peculiar difficulties with which any undertaking is beset, is indispensable to carry it to a successful issue, is so obvious, that it needs scarcely to be pointed out. Look for instance, at the two recent campaigns in Turkey and the Crimea, and you will find that almost all the disappointments and reverses which have been experienced, were owing to this very cause, viz. ignorance of the peculiar difficulties which had to be encountered. And the same will be found true in regard to the missionary undertaking; it having happened on more than one occasion, that through the cause referred to, directors of Missionary Societies were led to recommend, or missionaries to adopt, plans of operation good in themselves perhaps, and well suited to *some* localities, but which were not adapted to the particular country in which they were employed. That under such circumstances failure was the consequence, will excite no surprise.

We meet of course in Bengal, as everywhere else, with all the obstacles which arise from the depravity of human nature, and which, though differing in form and degree among various nations still are common to all. Of these, and of some others met with in all idolatrous countries, I shall not speak. But there

are many difficulties *peculiar* to the land in which we dwell; and it is to *these* that I purpose to call your attention.

These difficulties may be divided in three classes, viz. :—

I.—Those proceeding from the *natural character* of the natives of Bengal.

II.—Those proceeding from their *religious and social institutions.*

III.—Those proceeding from circumstances connected with the *missionaries themselves.*

I. On the first head, I would observe that there are peculiarities in the natural character of some nations, as well as of individuals, which confessedly offer greater obstacles than others to the reception of Christianity.

One of these unfavourable features in the character of the Bengalis is their distressing *unimpressibility*, when the most momentous concerns of religion are brought to their notice. Though naturally very acute, and fond of religious controversy, when it relates to mere theories and speculations, it is truly sad to find them often quite unimpressed, when addressing them on more serious and practical subjects, such as the holiness and justice of God, the polluting nature of sin, its universality, guilt and heinousness, repentance, salvation, death, judgment, eternity and other topics of this kind, which among nearly every other people create solemnity and reflection. Nay, this indifference and apathy are in the Bengalis, at times, carried to the extent of *levity;* as is seen by their endeavouring to turn even the most solemn truths into ridicule, and to make them a matter of jest and laughter; thus rendering it at the very outset almost impossible for the missionary to fix their attention in such a manner as to fasten conviction on their heart and to do them any good.

The *obsequiousness, plausibility* and *apparent sincerity,* so easily assumed by the natives of this part of India, are another very unfavourable feature of their character, well known to you all, and which no doubt you have frequently found very perplexing; seeing that where such a character is prevalent, it

is extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of the professions of many who come to us under the plea of being enquirers after the truth. How often has it happened, for instance, that individuals, who for weeks together attended on a missionary, protesting in the strongest language and with seeming sincerity their contempt of idolatry and their readiness to embrace Christianity, were all the while actuated only by some sordid motive, such as the hope of getting the missionary to assist them in a lawsuit they had in court; or for the purpose of being employed by him, or recommended for some situation to persons in authority.

This plausible, insincere disposition in the natives proves an obstacle to our work in another way. It leads very frequently to the admission into the christian church of persons who afterwards shew themselves most unworthy, and who by the absence of all spirituality of mind, by their worldliness and the manifestation of low and despicable propensities, become stumbling-blocks to the heathen. In some localities converts of this spurious description are presenting such a formidable barrier to the progress of the gospel, as to render the efforts of missionaries in those localities almost useless.

A further feature in the character of the people of this country, unfavourable to missionary success, is *their extreme timidity, and their deficiency in nearly all those qualities which constitute manliness,* such as moral and physical courage, fortitude, independence of mind, and firmness of purpose. These qualities it is very desirable individuals should possess, who are taking the bold step of forsaking the religion of their ancestors and embracing Christianity, and who are certain, in consequence, to meet with mockery, persecution and other severe trials. I may add to this, that there is no people on earth so much under the sway of the opinions of others, so easily affected and disconcerted by ridicule, as the people of Bengal. To this peculiar feature in their character it is doubtless to be ascribed that so many of them who in their understandings are convinced of the truth of Christianity, are kept from boldly and publicly making

a profession of it: thus frustrating the most sanguine hopes of the missionary at the very time when he thinks success in their conversion almost certain.

Some other features in the native character, offering peculiar obstacles to the free course of the gospel, might be mentioned, but those named will suffice.

II.

I shall now proceed to point out some of the obstacles which arise from the *religious and social institutions of the people.*—These are so blended and mixed up together that they properly form but one. In fact, what the Hindus call religion, is interwoven with nearly all their social and even domestic acts; for in the mode and time of the performance of all these, the Hindus are guided by explicit and most minute regulations, laid down in their sacred books. From this it is plain that it is not the mere system of Hindu idolatry, which the missionaries labouring in Bengal have to uproot. When they object to the shastras as a revelation of the divine will, this involves (though not designedly on their part) the overthrow of the whole fabric of social and domestic usages. The missionaries are therefore driven, by the necessity of the case, in a measure to *denationalize* the Hindus in many points. And can there be a task more difficult?—considering how obstinately *all nations* adhere to their respective domestic and social customs,—how strenuously they oppose, and how keenly they resent every attempt on the part of foreigners to interfere with them. If these facts be duly considered, we shall be able to form an idea of the mountain of difficulty which is to be surmounted in this particular alone; especially if it be kept in mind that the Hindus, and the Bengalis more than others, are so pre-eminently adverse to change and departure from custom in every imaginable concern.

We find under the same head, another powerful obstacle to the progress of the truth in this country, in *the existence* of *sacred books or shastras,* as they are called. If the Hindu religion, like that of the Karens in Burmah, of the Hottentots,

the Bechuanas, the South Sea Islanders, the Esquimaux and other rude nations, was founded merely on oral tradition, it would (as experience has shewn) be comparatively easy to contend with it; seeing that the constant changes and variations to which tradition is liable, from the absence of a permanent and fixed standard of reference, render it but a feeble basis for a religious system. The case however differs widely when such a system is derived from *written books*, which are held to have emanated from the deity himself, and especially when those books (as those of the Hindus) by their great antiquity have become objects of universal veneration. Any gospel truth that under such circumstances may be advanced by the missionary, is tested by the declarations of the shastras; and if opposed to them, is rejected as unworthy of credit; though it should carry with it the strongest evidence. To this I may add, that as the shastras contain the most absurd and extravagant statements, abstract truth, for the reason mentioned, makes little or no impression upon the generality of the Hindus. So much violence has been done to their natural good sense and reason, by forcing upon them a belief in the preposterous declarations, in the impossible events, and the monstrous doings of the gods and holy sages, recorded in the shastras, that their perception in regard to the *realities* of religion has become blunted, and their judgment in relation to such matters but little brought into exercise.

I would further remark that *the doctrines taught in the shastras* tend in a special manner to obstruct the spread of the gospel among the people of this land. Indeed, when properly considered, it is found that most of the doctrines referred to have a strong tendency to encourage sin, to increase the natural depravity of man and to lead him farther from God than he would have strayed if left to the mere light of nature. I will on the present occasion allude to only one of them, viz. the pantheistic tenet pervading the whole of Hinduism, that the soul is a portion of the deity;—in other words, that God is himself every thing and the author of every thing, *moral evil* included. By this dreadful

tenet, all accountability is destroyed, sorrow for sin becomes absurd, and liability to punishment is rendered preposterous. Hence it is, that real conviction of sin and a sense of its guilt, which alone lead men to the Saviour and caused the three thousand on the day of Pentecost to cry out, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" are but rarely met with among the Hindus; and owing to the perverted notions imbibed in youth, are found only in an imperfect degree even among native converts, who by a necessary, though sad consequence, do not, generally speaking, feel and manifest much of that *constraining* love of Christ, which is the mainspring of active and persevering efforts for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

The *very impure character of the shastras, and of the histories they contain* must also be mentioned as a great impediment to our work, inasmuch as the soul is thereby sensualized and brutified to a degree, of which it is difficult to form a conception. Nothing short of divine power is needed, to prepare the heart, before the gospel can possibly be expected to have any thing like free course among a people, whose imagination has been so long polluted by the filthy sentiments and abominable stories recorded in the shastras, principally the Puranas; stories which are everywhere shamelessly promulgated and rehearsed in the presence of persons of both sexes and of all ages.

Among the religious and social institutions which impede the progress of Christianity in this country, I would further mention as one of the chief, *the division of the people into castes.* Caste strikes at the very root of the two cardinal virtues which the gospel of Jesus Christ has been designed to produce in man, viz. *humility and universal brotherly love.* It causes the Hindus utterly to repudiate the scriptural doctrine that God has made all men of one blood, that all therefore are alike in his estimation, and that consequently they are bound to view each other and to sympathize with each other as brethren. It elevates beyond measure, in their own estimation, the highest orders, and fills them with an arrogance and pride which they

indulge and foster as their birth-right; whilst on the other hand it fills the lowest with an abject sense of their own degradation and inferiority. Caste has moreover, as I observed, the strongest tendency to extinguish in the human breast feelings of *universal brotherly love*, and leads the Hindus to view members of a different caste as belonging to another species of beings, with which they have but little in common, and with whose joys and sufferings they accordingly do not feel called upon to sympathize very much more, than they would do with those of the brute creation.

When we further consider the dreadful consequences which loss of caste entails; the severing of the nearest and dearest relative and domestic ties, the loss of property and reputation, the being forsaken and cast away upon the world as a stranger and a vagabond, and other similar trials; when we consider this whole train of evils, I say, which would make the most stout-hearted European to quail, ere he encountered them, (and remember that they must be encountered to a greater or less degree by the timid Hindu when he embraces Christianity) shall we be surprized that caste forms such a formidable bar to the reception of the gospel by the natives of this country?

But this is not all, loss of caste and the consequent expulsion from his family, and from Hindu society in general, puts it in a great measure out of the power of the convert to use *persuasion* and other active efforts for the purpose of enlightening the minds of *his heathen friends and relations*, and inducing them to embrace the gospel. This species of exertion, on the part of converts, has in other countries, even from the time of the Apostles, proved very useful to the cause of Christianity and its extensive diffusion; indeed far more useful than all the personal efforts of its preachers. For the same reason, the convert is also prevented from exhibiting before those of his countrymen who knew him best, the renovating and generally beneficial effects of Christianity, by his improved conduct in the various relations of life; and he is thus precluded from recommending the gospel to his former acquaintances and

kindred in the way of *example*. Our blessed Lord commanded his disciples "to let their light so shine before men, that they might see their good works and glorify their Father who is in heaven." But alas! owing to the baneful system of caste, the poor Hindu convert is debarred from the opportunity of obeying this command *just where he could do it to the greatest advantage*, and consequently of effecting that good in the way of making the gospel acceptable to others, which the observance of that command is so well calculated to promote.

It is in a great measure owing to caste also, that missionaries in this country are prevented from holding familiar intercourse with the natives and visiting them in their houses, for the purpose of religious conversation and instruction; which mode of usefulness is, even in Christian countries, generally found to accomplish more than the public ministrations of God's servants. Such, in its dire effects in counteracting the spread of Christianity in this country, is caste!

But we have still further a very powerful obstacle peculiar to this land, in *the Brahminical Priesthood*, which, on the strength of what is universally believed a divine appointment, is exercising a most tyrannical sway over the population, the like of which, as far as I am aware, exists nowhere else. In order to form an idea of the power and influence of the Brahminical Priesthood we have only to remember that in all the religious, social and domestic concerns of the Hindus, nothing of any importance can be done without a bráhman. None but bráhmans may read and explain the sacred books and determine on lucky and unlucky days. None but they are permitted to officiate at the worship of the gods, at marriages, funerals, dedications of houses and other ceremonies connected with the Hindu religion. Their curse is sure to bring on the greatest evils. The dust of their feet, and the water in which they have washed them, is considered sacred. Falsehood may be uttered without sin, when thereby bráhmans can be extricated from danger or trouble. All the offerings made to the gods

are appropriated by them; and the bestowment of gifts on them is considered one of the most eminent acts of religious merit. To feed them is equally meritorious, and their very leavings are held to be something very sacred and holy. Now a priesthood, possessing such influence, and deriving so much honour and profit from the existing system, will of course throw every obstacle in the way of the propagation of Christianity, which, it knows, must necessarily deprive its members of all the advantages they possess. And accordingly, bráhman priests are usually found to be our most inveterate antagonists, endeavouring, by opposition more or less open to thwart our labours wherever they can.

Another impediment to the progress of Christianity, peculiar to this country, is *the condition of female society.* As the respectable females are kept confined, they are almost entirely precluded from hearing the gospel preached, or being taught it in any way. And those of the lower orders who are allowed to appear in public, not being accustomed to come into the assemblies of men—indeed deeming it disreputable to do so—very seldom have an opportunity to hear the truth, except perhaps at "melás" or public festivals, when social usages are partially suspended for a few days. Missionaries have, therefore constantly to preach to *men* alone, whose hearts are more hardened and whose minds are generally less impressible than those of *women;* and they are thereby debarred from one of the most promising opportunities of doing good. This will strike us at once, when reading the records relating to the evangelization of the world in the primitive times; for these shew that *women* were generally among the first who were impressed with the truth, and afterwards through their silent, though powerful influence contributed in an eminent degree to the establishment of Christianity in various parts of the world. The same fact may be gathered from the history of modern missions; for we find that many of the most pleasing instances of conversion, recorded in connexion with them, were those of *women,* who subsequently also contributed greatly to

the increase and prosperity of the churches by their efforts in their families and among their own kindred. These facts go far to shew what a great advantage our brethren in other countries possess over us, in being permitted to labour as freely in the cause of the gospel among women as among men. Had the females in this country equal opportunities with the men of becoming acquainted with the word of God, there is every reason to believe that many might be easily impressed with the simple, heart-stirring, love-inspiring truths of the gospel, and that much of the influence which (by reason of their ignorance and superstition) they now exercise for evil, might be rendered very favourable to the progress of Christianity, as has been the case in other parts of the world.

Another of our particular difficulties, though chiefly affecting those of us who are labouring among the rural population, is the *zemindary system*. The generality of native zemindárs, as you are aware, not content with their lawful rent, under various pretences, extort often double and treble the amount from their rayats; especially by the exaction of compulsory presents, intended either to satisfy their rapacious propensities, or to enable them to defray the expenses of heathen festivals. Now, when a rayat embraces Christianity, he can of course no longer, with a good conscience, contribute of his property towards the celebration of idolatrous rites. And even when this is not made the pretext by the zemindárs or their underlings, they well know that the christian tenants are likely to bring to the notice of their pastor the various acts of injustice and oppression to which they are subjected, and the recurrence of which, the latter will naturally enough exert himself to prevent. This explains why most native zemindárs view the introduction of Christianity into their estates with such a jealous eye, and endeavour to prevent it as much as they possibly can. And as their wealth, influence and power are often very great, and as they are usually unscrupulous in the means they employ, they but too frequently succeed in

preventing numbers of their rayats, otherwise well-inclined towards Christianity, from making a profession of it.

But another and still greater evil, proceeding from this system, is that when any of the rayats *have* embraced Christianity;—owing to oppression, violence and false accusations in Courts, where perjury is so common and the administration of justice so defective, the christian rayats are kept in a constant state of fear which takes from them all independence of character, and is apt to foster in them a propensity to falsehood, and a mean, timid, slavish, cringing disposition, most inimical to the development of a noble and manly Christianity. In fact, until the zemindary system has been considerably modified, or efficient checks have been devised to counteract its present baneful tendency, I almost despair of our ever being able to found, among the rural population of Bengal, churches of an independent, self-relying spirit, in which christian feelings and virtues shall have a proper scope for their exercise. I therefore greatly rejoice that this subject is to be specially taken up by the Conference. One of greater importance could scarcely come under consideration.

Another difficulty peculiar to this country and which has arisen only of late years, is *the spirit of infidelity* which the education without religion, imparted in Government and other schools, has mainly contributed to engender among a great portion of the respectable and influential classes; and which threatens to offer a more formidable barrier to the truth than any we have yet encountered; especially as those who profess those sentiments have organised themselves into a regular body or sect, with the declared object of *reforming* their idolatrous countrymen. Now the adherents of this new sect know full well that Christianity has taken its stand as their rival in this respect; and accordingly, besides their personal aversion to its humbling and holy doctrines, they view it with all the bitter and hostile feelings which rivalry begets, and leave nothing undone to counteract its spread; chiefly so, however, through means of the press. This fact, I think, suggests to

us whether *we* ought not to make more use than we do, for the prosecution of our work, of the powerful instrumentality of the press, and of the periodical press in particular.

III. It remains for me only to point out a few of the difficulties *proceeding from circumstances connected with the Missionaries themselves.*

One of these is *the position of Missionaries as foreigners,* which causes the Hindus (I mean pure Hindus, who have not yet imbibed European views and feelings) to look on them in a contemptuous and unfavourable light as "mlechhas," or persons belonging to an impure race, on a par with their own lowest and most degraded classes, and, as such, unfit to fill the high office of *religious teachers.* It might appear at first sight, that the greater skill and proficiency of Europeans in arts and sciences would gain them additional respect from the natives; and so it does, in so far as superiority in those arts and sciences is concerned. This, however, does by no means hold good in regard to *religion.* It requires a long and very intimate acquaintance with the feelings of the natives, to become aware of and to appreciate this difficulty thoroughly; since, for obvious reasons, it is not likely to be expressed in words. But my experience has taught me repeatedly that it exists, especially in the country, and operates most injuriously on our efforts. I have seen natives, who had listened attentively to a sermon, when by accident I came in close proximity with their persons, actually shrinking from me to avoid being polluted by my touch. Now, it is easy to understand how such a feeling on their part militates against their ready reception of doctrines, promulgated by individuals whom they personally look upon with something akin to aversion. I may add to this, that native preachers, owing to their forfeiture of caste, are viewed, though not in the same degree, yet much in the same light by orthodox Hindus, which tends to render their labours less acceptable than they might otherwise be.

A further obstacle to our work is presented by the necessity under which missionaries, who use the vernacular as their

medium of communication, are laid *of employing terms in their ministrations, which from their already existing heathenish applications convey to the people very different ideas from those intended.* It might be thought an advantage which we enjoy above those missionaries, labouring in other countries, who have to *coin* terms for ideas not known before,—in the fact of our finding in the country almost every theological and religious term *made ready to our hands.* But on due consideration, it will be found that the disadvantage is on our side; seeing that we have not only to impart new ideas to blank minds; but ere we can do so, have first to eradicate erroneous ones. This is probably one of the reasons why our preaching, though listened to attentively enough, often fails to convey proper knowledge and conviction. This I have daily opportunities of observing, when after a sermon some objection is started by the hearers, or a conversation entered into, on the subject that has been treated. It is then discovered, that the preacher has not unfrequently been misunderstood, and that false notions have been imparted; though all the while, the expressions used were perfectly correct. This of course must tend to diminish the effect of even the most pointed and idiomatic discourses.

Another impediment, affecting the development of a healthy christian character among our converts, arises (strange to say!) from the fact that *the missionaries in India, as Europeans and as belonging to the race of the rulers of the country, hold a higher position in society than natives, and are usually possessed of greater pecuniary means than many of them.* This circumstance, instead of being an advantage, as might be supposed, turns out to be a positive disadvantage; inasmuch as it leads native converts to look up to the missionaries in every emergency, even frequently for support, or at least for assistance,—and induces the missionaries in many cases to grant these as a matter of course and almost of duty. This state of things, it cannot be denied, fosters in the converts a grasping, covetous disposition, which operates most injuriously on their indepen-

dence of mind; besides encouraging indolence, hypocrisy and deceit.

As a great impediment to speedy and extensive conversions in this country, I would finally mention *the immense masses of people to be worked upon, coupled with the disproportionately small number of Missionaries employed among them.* In this respect there is a wide difference existing to our disadvantage, between the position of this country and that of those countries where modern missions have been most successful; scarcely any of the latter containing, in all their length and breadth, as many people as are assigned to only one or two missionaries in India. As, however, this difficulty arising from the inadequate number of labourers, is common to China and some other parts of the heathen world, I will not enlarge on it.

Thus, my dear brethren, have I enumerated some of the peculiar difficulties with which Missionaries have to contend in their attempts at the evangelization of India, and more especially of Bengal. You will have observed, that I have not touched at all on those connected with the *Mahommedan population,* which would have taken up too much of our time. Had I added these to the list, the number would have been much increased. Now, are these difficulties not appalling? A few of them alone would render our work one of great toil and hardship; but what shall we say of such a host arrayed against us, aided by all the innate depravity of the human heart, and all the baneful influence which the infernal powers can put forth! Truly, we shall all be ready to exclaim: "Who is sufficient for these things?" Let not the consideration of these difficulties however, at all discourage us! On the contrary, I trust that we shall all thereby be stirred up to greater effort. Surely, for men engaged in so good a cause as ours is, difficulties and obstacles, instead of disheartening, should rather excite us to redoubled energy. Let us always remember that the work in which we are engaged, is GOD'S own work, which he has promised to bless and to bring to a successful issue. And as an earnest that he will do so in regard to this whole nation,

has he not already given us to see and witness all the difficulties we have passed in review, completely overcome in a goodly number of individuals, some of whom it is our privilege to have amongst us on the present occasion, and whom we most cordially welcome? These, indeed, might once have been deemed irreclaimable; but behold, now "the truth has made them free," and they are adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour by a holy and consistent walk!

The consideration of the numerous and appalling difficulties encountered by Missions in Bengal, is also well calculated to moderate and regulate our expectations in regard to rapid and extensive success, and to prevent the indulgence of those oversanguine anticipations, which invariably lead to disappointment and eventually to discouragement.

But, our chief object in contemplating these difficulties is to consider how far they should influence our future plans and proceedings. We all know and acknowledge that the GOSPEL, and that alone is the means that will ever renovate Bengal. It is *that* alone which has ever proved, and ever will prove, "the power of God unto salvation" to any individual or people belonging to the human race. At the same time it may safely be asserted that there are some *methods in presenting* the gospel, which recommend themselves as better suited than others to the particular circumstances of the various nations of the earth. Common sense teaches this, and Scripture confirms it; for do we not see, for instance, that model-missionary, St. Paul, who "was determined to know nothing in his ministrations, save Jesus Christ and him crucified," nevertheless adopting *different modes* in making known this great and saving truth, to the Jews and to the Gentiles respectively? And in this, we should imitate him, "being made all things to all men, that by all means we may save some."—I must say, I feel no sympathy whatever with men who, without reference to the different circumstances of nations and the different obstacles to the work of evangelization encountered among them, insist on the *same* methods being pursued every-

where; and I feel assured you coincide with me in this respect.

It will therefore now be for you, my dear brethren, to consider in how far the various plans of operation hitherto followed by us are the best fitted to meet the peculiar difficulties we have to contend with in this country,—or whether some of them should not be modified, or entirely new ones adopted. And may God by his Spirit guide us in our deliberations on this important subject!

The Rev. J. Williamson has heard Mr. Lacroix's paper with great pleasure, and can confirm every word that it contains. The obstacles mentioned are the very ones that he has himself found most frequently in the way of the gospel. It may be different in other parts of India, but the Bengalis are undoubtedly a very timid people: now the profession of the gospel in a heathen country requires courage. The very first quality that we are required to add to our faith is virtue or manly courage. Then there is the covetousness of the people, which has acted prejudicially, both in keeping back converts, through their shrinking from the sacrifices that they might have to make, and also in inducing some to make a hypocritical profession with a view to improving their worldly circumstances. It is likely that the evils of the native character will appear in a modified form in the native church. In mentioning these various obstacles, he of course would be understood as considering them to be only various forms of the one great obstacle which opposes the truth in all countries, the depravity of the human heart; but in contemplating the difficulties, we must ever bear in mind that greater is he that is for us than all that can be against us.

The Rev. G. Pearce expressed his thanks to Mr. Lacroix, for the clear and comprehensive view that he has presented of the difficulties with which we have to contend. Some of them can only be removed gradually, such as caste, brahminical influence and much that is evil in the social habits of the people. But there are some difficulties that may be met to a certain extent by a better arrangement of our own plans of operations.

He would instance the obstacle that is thrown in the way of a profession of the gospel by the appointing of a single missionary to a station, which has in many instances led to the abandonment of stations on the death or removal of the missionary. This is no small evil. In connexion with the Baptist Mission alone no fewer than eighteen stations have been thus occupied and abandoned. Now it must be a very serious question with a native, whether it will be safe for him to make the sacrifice which he must

make in embracing Christianity, when he has no security that in the course of a few months he may not be left alone. Another considerable obstacle is, that we appear in the eyes of the natives as of the same race with the conquerors of their country. The natives hold us, as Europeans, to blame for all that they dislike in the administration of Government. "Talk of your good will," said a Talukdar the other day, "did not your countrymen pass the resumption laws, and take away the lands that our pious ancestors had consecrated to religious purposes?" One thing, adverted to by Mr. Lacroix, as an obstacle, he (Mr. P.) considers in some respects as an advantage; viz. our appearance among the natives as richer men than themselves. We are enabled to extend kind aid to them, when in distress, and thus to exhibit the practical benevolence of the gospel.

The Rev. W. H. Hill thought that such gifts had tended only to foster the dependent spirit of the natives, and to corrupt the churches who had most enjoyed them.

The Rev. Lal Behari De of Calcutta would remark that some of the difficulties mentioned by Mr. Lacroix seemed to him not at all peculiar to Bengal. The national character of every people presents some obstacles; but these are probably quite as great in other countries as in this. He agrees that there is a good deal of apathy among his countrymen, and regrets it. He does not think that covetousness is at all peculiar to the Bengalis, and suspects that Englishmen are as covetous as they. The Bengalis are also a timid race, but all these national characteristics have their counterparts in the characters of other natives. Then it should be remembered that there are some qualities distinctive of his countrymen which, if sanctified, might raise them to a higher place in the christian church. He would mention, for instance, their great religiousness. They are undoubtedly the most religious people on the face of the earth. If then through the grace of God they become Christians, we may hope that they will, more than other races, live habitually under the power of their purer faith. In his opinion, by far the greatest obstacle is the caste system; but even that is gradually relaxing its hold.

The Rev. J. Trafford conceived that in enumerating the difficulties, some of the physical characteristics of the country should be mentioned; it is almost impossible for the missionary to go among the natives during certain months of every year and certain hours of every day. And then, as to the difficulties of the work itself, we certainly labour under great disadvantages as foreigners.

The Rev. Behari Lal Singh considered that one great obstacle arises from the great expenditure of time and strength on native churches. If native christians could be led to exert themselves to provide pastoral superintendence for themselves, it would be an unspeakable blessing.

The Rev. E. Storrow wished to ask how far the various forms which Hinduism assumes are an obstacle to the progress of the gospel, by enabling those who are dissatisfied with one form, to take refuge in another?

The Rev. T. Smith thought that there is great force in the fact alluded to in Mr. Storrow's question. Although Hinduism is in appearance the most inflexible of all systems, yet it has practically accommodated itself in a surprising way to the varying views of its votaries. Multitudes who have been disgusted with the grosser forms of Hinduism, have found refuge in the systems of Chaitanya, and the Kartta Bhojas: and latterly in the system of Neo-Vedantism or Brahmism. So far from thinking these systems to be stepping-stones to Christianity, he suspected that they are more generally the means of pacifying the half-awakened conscience, and keeping men away from the gospel. As to the peculiarities of the native character, he thought that his friend Lal Behari had shewn an unnecessary amount of zeal on behalf of his countrymen, but he partly agreed with him that the Bengalis are characterized by certain peculiarities which, when sanctified by divine grace, will impart to them a peculiar character as Christians, which may be one of a high order. For example, that timidity which partly proceeds from certain peculiarities in their constitution, when christianized, may tend to make them more gentle and forbearing, more meek and circumspect than are the generality of christians of a rougher and a ruder mould.

Mr. Smith would now like to bring the Conference to one part of the question, as given in the programme of their proceedings, which had only been touched upon in the paper read by Mr. Lacroiz, viz. *the modifications in our plan of operations,* dictated by the peculiar character of the difficulties with which we have to contend. He would mention one or two instances in which the peculiar character of the difficulties would seem to indicate the necessity of such modifications. For example the caste-system, and the baneful influence of Brâhmanism seem to him destined to fall mainly through the influence of educational efforts. It is in connexion with suitable means that the grace of God must be expected to act, and one of the most appropriate means of destroying caste is, to bring boys of all castes together into the same school, and set them to contend together in the various exercises both of the class-room and the play-ground. Again, the difficulty presented by the practice of female seclusion seems to point to the necessity of two modifications, which would scarcely be necessary in a different state of society. The first is female education, and the second is medical missions. He has no wish to put preaching and teaching into a position of unnatural antagonism. But in the case of the females of Bengal we are absolutely shut up to educational operations, or to none at all. And then he can testify from

personal observation to the fact that the medical missionary would have access to the females in a way in which no other missionary can. He has within these few weeks seen a vast deal of sickness in a village near Calcutta, and by merely shewing sympathy with the sufferers, and taking advantage of the prevalent idea among natives that every European is a sort of doctor, he has been able to address women who a few weeks ago would have fled from his approach.

The Rev. B. Geidt of Burdwan would mention an instance of the reverential feelings still entertained towards Bráhmans. He lately saw a Bráhman leprous all over. Yet while he stood, ten or twelve men came to get water sanctified by the touch of this Bráhman's foot, and drank it with apparent satisfaction. He has noticed that in the neighbourhood of rich natives of liberal ideas, the restraints of religion do not exercise a powerful influence.

Resolution respecting the Difficulties of Missions.

On the subject of these difficulties it was unanimously resolved :—

"That the members of this Conference concur in the views, so systematically and concisely presented by Mr. Lacroix, respecting the peculiar difficulties encountered by the gospel in this part of India. While aware that numerous obstacles, especially the greatest of all, the corruption of the human heart, oppose it in all countries, they consider that certain circumstances furnish special hinderances to it in Bengal; circumstances which are connected with the physical peculiarities of the country and climate; with the national character of the people; with the doctrines, observances and customs of their religious system; and with the position in which the Missionary himself is placed. Some of these retard the labours and diminish the efficiency of the missionary himself. Others serve as bonds which hold the minds of the Hindus in slavery, and prevent their free access to those Christian influences which missionaries are endeavouring to exert upon them. While acknowledging that the all-powerful grace of God can in every case triumph, and in numerous instances, has triumphed over all obstacles, they consider that these peculiar circumstances, in their combined influence on the people generally, greatly delay the progress of the gospel. They therefore deem it both wise and right to employ special means for weakening their influence, and for rendering the gospel more accessible to the people: and they pray, that they may receive grace from on high to adopt such means, with sound wisdom, and with the single motive of advancing the cause of the Redeemer."

The Conference closed with prayer by the chairman.

Wednesday Morning, Sept. 5th.

The Conference met again in the Town Hall at ten o'clock. In the unavoidable absence of E. B. Underhill, Esq. one of the London Secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society,

The Rev. A. F. Lacroix occupied the chair.

Present, thirty-nine members and six visitors.

1. After a hymn had been sung, the Rev. J. Fordyce of the Free Church Mission, Calcutta, offered prayer. The minutes of Tuesday's proceedings were then read and confirmed.

2. The chairman next called on the Rev. J. Wenger, of the Baptist Mission, Calcutta, to introduce the third topic appointed for the consideration of the conference, viz. the subject of Vernacular Preaching. The following paper was then read.

On Preaching the Gospel in the Native Tongues.

It was the last command which our Saviour gave to his Apostles, that they should "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." The sense in which his first disciples understood that command, and which may therefore be presumed really to attach to it, may be ascertained by observing the manner in which they endeavoured to carry it out. They went forth, and proclaimed among those of every nation to whom they could obtain access, the wonderful works of God, in their own tongues, with more or less of publicity. The natural inference, deducible from their mode of proceeding, is that in our day also Evangelists should regard it as the primary part of their office, to go among the various nations of the earth, and proclaim to them, in the peculiar tongue of each country, the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

It may, however, not be out of place, at the very outset, to guard against misconception, and to take a comprehensive view of missionary work. We look upon it as the work, not of each individual missionary, but of the whole missionary church. We are of opinion that missionary work embraces

various departments of labour, and that the principle of a division of labour ought to be applied to it. The missionary church may justly be compared to a body consisting of many members. "The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of thee." In this way the preaching missionary, the medical missionary, the scholastic missionary, and the literary missionary, are all useful and necessary members of the whole body of the missionary church. And a division of labour between them is not only justifiable, but even in some measure obligatory, on the principle that whilst there is one Spirit, there are diversities of gifts and of operations. To one member of the missionary church is given the gift of preaching, to another the gift of healing, to a third the gift of teaching, and to a fourth the gift of translating and composing religious books. Each of them should use the peculiar gift entrusted to him, so as to promote the efficiency and the usefulness of the whole body.

Again, it should not be overlooked that the command is to preach the gospel "to every creature." We should therefore not condemn the missionary in a heathen land, who regards it as a part of his duty to preach to his own countrymen in his own tongue. And we may also safely acknowledge that a missionary is legitimately employed, if he looks upon his class-room as his place of preaching, and upon his class as his stated audience. If he proclaims the gospel of Christ to these young people in a language which they can understand, even though it should be an acquired language, he is helping to preach the gospel to every creature. And it will hardly be denied by the most zealous advocate of preaching, that such a class of well instructed young men constitutes that which it is so very difficult to obtain in this country, a stated audience of regular hearers,—hearers to whom he may preach not only on one day of the week, but on all, and hearers who are more attentive, more intelligent, and more free from prejudice, and consequently better prepared for understanding the gospel, than

those whom we meet with in the streets and market-places, and at religious festivals. But whilst we cheerfully make this concession, we still maintain that missionary preaching ought not to be limited to the class-room of an English Institution; because the command is to preach the gospel to every creature, and not only to educated young men.

Returning, then, to the subject before us, of vernacular preaching, we understand by it the oral communication, with a view to win souls to Christ, of the great truths of the gospel, particularly those which refer to the lost condition of sinful man, and to the way of salvation through faith in Christ crucified. The gospel may in this way be set before large audiences, or before a few hearers and single individuals,—in markets and other places of public resort, or in visits from village to village and even from house to house,—although this last method is not every where found to be readily practicable.

It will probably be acknowledged by us all that, with the modifications already stated, this work of vernacular preaching is the primary agency that should be employed in missionary labours; and that, if a distinction is allowable, the preaching missionary is the highest style of missionary. In ordaining preaching as the primary agency of evangelization, the wisdom of God is manifestly displayed, for the agency is simple and comprehensive, adapted to all ages and all ranks, to the learned as well as to the ignorant, to the poor as well as to the rich. Preaching is also wonderfully adapted to the moral nature of man: the gospel is commended to the attention of the hearer by the earnestness, the sincerity, the affectionate entreaty, and it may be the venerable appearance of the preacher; and the rejection of the gospel must be felt to be something like personal injustice to the preacher, like an imputation of insincerity and enthusiasm, or of even more unworthy motives. Thus preaching gives a peculiar impressiveness to the gospel, derived from the moral relation which it establishes between the preacher and the hearer personally, in addition to the force of truth which is inherent in the gospel, when set forth in other forms.

Whilst, however, we assign the first rank among all the various missionary agencies to this preaching of the gospel, we cannot pass over in silence the startling and humiliating fact, that very few manifest cases of decided individual conversion have been known to result directly from preaching alone. In our native christian congregations the preached word has again and again been blessed as an instrument of conversion: but preaching to Hindus and Muhammadans has very rarely been attended with such pleasing success in a tangible form. A few such cases have occurred, but they have been very few indeed. This, however, should not be allowed either to discourage us, or to unsettle our judgment regarding the value of preaching. It is very probable that in many instances the feelings experienced whilst hearing the gospel from the lips of a preacher, may have proved, or may in after life prove, the incipient germs of spiritual and eternal life in the soul. And the extensive preaching that has been carried on so long, has in many a district removed the gross ignorance and the inveterate prejudices of the people, and given them a strong impression in favour of the gospel and its messengers.

Again, if we look at vernacular preaching as it exists in practice, in combination with auxiliary agencies, and particularly with the distribution of Scriptures and Tracts, we shall soon find that we are fully justified in attributing to preaching a very large proportion of the positive success which has attended missions in Bengal. The churches at Cutwa and Beerbhoom owe their origin to the preaching labours of Chamberlain; those in the district south of Calcutta to the preaching labours of a Trawin, an Arratoon and other missionaries in the suburbs of Calcutta: those in Jessore to the preaching labours of early evangelists, many of them native; those in Burisal to the preaching labours, also chiefly of native brethren. It is probable that preaching had much to do with the introduction of Christianity into the Krishnagur district. In this way it is obvious, that if preaching by itself—we were going to say in the abstract—has not been attended with great

direct and tangible success;—yet preaching, as it is carried on in practice, has proved itself in this country, as well as in other lands, to be the great instrument by which sinners are brought into the way of salvation.

It is, however, a question which deserves our most attentive consideration, whether the saving power of a preached gospel might not have manifested itself in more numerous cases, if a better method of preaching had been adopted. As I have had little personal experience in this work, it is with great diffidence that I venture to offer a few suggestions. Has not sometimes too much been expected from preaching in the midst of a crowd, intoxicated with the excitement of a religious festival, or of a busy market? No doubt such opportunities of addressing large multitudes must not be neglected; but during the height of religious frenzy, or of mercantile eagerness, the people are not very promising hearers. It appears desirable, on such occasions, to preach at some little distance from the crowd, and at a time when the excitement has either not yet commenced, or when it has somewhat subsided.

Again, has there not sometimes been too great an eagerness to assail the vulnerable and sore points of Hinduism and Mahommadanism, and to make the hearers ashamed of their religious systems? The gospel, no doubt, has an aggressive character; and it is often found necessary to give a controversial tone to preaching, either for the sake of attracting an audience, or of dispelling error, or of meeting objections. But even those who are willing, up to a certain point, to laugh at the weak points of their own religion, may become irritated and prejudiced, if the thing is carried too far. Our great business is to preach against sin, and to proclaim Christ. It is of the greatest importance that we should seek to make an impression upon the consciences of our hearers, so that they may feel the need of a Saviour,—and that we should set forth, not so much the theoretical truths of the christian system, as Christ himself, such as he is depicted in his history, his miracles, his teaching, and especially his death and resurrec-

tion. We should preach Christ rather than Christianity—or rather we should do the one, and not leave the other undone. Too vague and general a mode of exhibiting the great truths of the gospel is a very unsatisfactory style of preaching.

It is with peculiar hesitation that I propose another suggestion. Has there been sufficient method in our preaching? Regular sermons upon texts of scripture, such as are common in our English and native christian congregations, are certainly not adapted to an audience of Hindus and Mahommadans. But if sermons are not suitable, perhaps a series of discourses upon a certain range of topics might be practicable. The late Mr. Lacey of Cuttack adopted a plan of this description, and certainly with great success. He had selected a number of subjects,—not a very large number—on which he had prepared discourses. Thus he had a harvest sermon; a sermon on paying rent to the zamindár; a sermon about a barren mango tree; another about the judgment-day. These sermons, if by that name they may be called, he preached again and again from year to year, though not in the same places. It was his constant endeavour to make the old sermon more impressive in its delivery on each successive occasion. It is said of Whitfield, that prince of preachers, that the full power of his oratory, was not developed until he had become perfectly familiar with a sermon by preaching it thirty times. In addressing a heathen audience, we need not be nearly so much afraid of repetition, as we should have occasion to be in a christian place of worship; because in the latter we always meet the same hearers again, whilst our heathen audiences are rarely made up of the same persons twice. This is particularly the case in itinerant preaching.

With a view to constant improvement in his preaching, Mr. Lacey kept what he called a bazar-book, in which he entered any new modes of expression, or proverbial sayings, or similes, or objections which he heard from the lips of the people whom he addressed. And the stores thus treasured up in his bazar-book, he carefully applied to the enriching of his addresses.

If in any part of India vernacular preaching to the heathen has been attended with marked success, it has been in Orissa; and it is very probable that the systematic and pains-taking method adopted by Lacey and his successors has, under the divine blessing, materially contributed to this pleasing result.

Preaching to the heathen may be considered as a work which a missionary carries on either statedly in the vicinity of his place of residence, or on itinerating tours. He feels himself bound to proclaim the gospel as frequently and as regularly as he can, in the neighbourhood in which he lives. I feel myself incompetent to offer any practical remarks on this subject, beyond this that it would be desirable, if he could adopt a plan, by which it might be possible for him, not only to preach frequently in the same place, but also to the same hearers. In the great majority of cases he only attracts casual passers-by, who come to listen from curiosity, and who perhaps never return. It is very difficult to point out any practical means of remedying this evil. In the school-room it is not felt, and this—as has already been remarked—constitutes one of the great advantages which the scholastic missionary possesses over the preaching missionary. The latter almost invariably finds that the fear of man operates too powerfully in Bengal to allow a heathen hearer to become a regular attendant at a christian place of preaching. This is one of the reasons why preaching to nominal christians, who have given up caste and placed themselves under regular christian instruction, has led to more pleasing tangible results than preaching to the heathen. But although the object referred to, is extremely difficult of attainment, yet some advantages approaching to it may be secured under peculiarly favourable circumstances. Thus Mr. Leslie, when at Monghyr, succeeded in obtaining a piece of ground close to the courts of law. There he built a chapel, capable of containing 250 hearers, in which he preached regularly on the Lord's-day and on one day of the week. On Lord's-day afternoon the native christians, including even the females (a thing which would not be

advisable in Bengal) constituted the nucleus of the congregation. Frequently the chapel was full, "inside and out." The people who attended the courts, being at leisure on the Lord's-day, used to come in;—sometimes the same individuals were present on two or three successive Sabbaths, or even more. One man, who heard the gospel there, was converted, and proved to the end of his life such an ornament to the church, that his conversion alone would have been an ample reward for all the labours carried on there. But in addition to this, the hearers, as they returned from their lawsuits to their own homes, carried a knowledge of the gospel into every part of the district.

A missionary, however, will not feel satisfied with preaching only in the immediate vicinity of his residence; he will long to carry the gospel further. If the field which he considers as his own, be limited, being perhaps surrounded by neighbouring missions, he will make it his endeavour, as soon as he can, to carry the gospel to every part of his field, and to visit the same places again and again in successive years. And here we cannot forbear from pointing out the great advantage of allowing the same servant of God to remain in the same district long enough to become thoroughly acquainted with all its parts, and with the times when, and the places where he can preach to the greatest advantage in its different localities. If he remains in the same district long, the people also will become acquainted with his person, his object, and his character, and will learn to place confidence in him and to become favourably disposed towards him.

But if the field of labour, in which he is the only preacher, embrace other districts than the one in which he is stationed, he will not be contented with kindling the light of the gospel in one district, and leaving the adjoining ones in utter darkness. He will naturally seek to preach the gospel also in the regions beyond, where the name of Christ is either wholly or comparatively unknown; and this will lead him to enter upon extensive itinerating tours, and to carry the gospel as far as

he can, even if he should be able to visit the same places only once in five or six years, or may be only once in a lifetime. On such tours, however, he will endeavour to prolong his stay for a few days, if he finds it practicable, in particular localities, where the gospel is favourably received. The desirableness of doing this is obvious and increasingly felt; but that which is desirable, is not always practicable.

We are thus led to consider the subject of *itinerating*. The eastern districts of Bengal being everywhere intersected by rivers, admit of itinerating all the year round, excepting the months of March, April and May, when the heat is almost intolerable, and frequent storms render navigation dangerous. In the more elevated parts of Bengal, such as the district of Beerbhoom, itinerating is only practicable during the cold season, extending from the end of October to the end of February. In those parts, which are subject to annual inundation, shorter tours are practicable during the rainy season; but longer tours are only advisable in the cold season, and even then the nature of the ground, partly dry, partly muddy, and partly intersected by water, renders travelling difficult.

The mode and the cost of itinerating vary according to the nature of the ground. Where there are rivers, there a missionary travels by water, having usually a boat for himself, another for a native preacher or two, and a third for cooking. Where he has to travel by land, he must have a tent, and two or three or more carts drawn by oxen, to carry his tent, his supply of Scriptures and Tracts, and his provisions and travelling apparatus. The expense of thus travelling by water amounts to about 100 Rs. per mensem; and by land to 50 Rs. at least, and to much more, if he should hire a horse or a palankeen, to save himself the fatigue of walking in a climate like that of Bengal. In some districts the two modes of travelling have to be combined,—a circumstance which naturally enhances the expense.

Hitherto Missionary Societies have made very inadequate provision for meeting the cost of itinerating: nevertheless, the

work has not been so much neglected, as might naturally be supposed; and some missionaries have, much to their honour, for many years borne the expense themselves, either wholly or in part, rather than forego the pleasure of preaching. Of late years, it is well known that the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society has given a fresh impetus to itinerating, by allowing travelling expenses to those missionaries, who have undertaken to distribute the Scriptures which it publishes. We hope that this example will stir up other Societies to equal liberality.

If the question be asked, by whom the work of preaching to the heathen, especially on itinerating tours, should be carried on: the answer is, both by missionaries and native preachers, and best of all by both conjointly. Many European missionaries would be most unwilling to forego the privilege of thus preaching the gospel. The sight of a missionary preaching, in very many cases of itself produces a deep impression in favour of Christianity. And it will hardly be denied that European missionaries, by their superior education, are in some respects better qualified for this work than the generality of our present native preachers. On the other hand the foreigner has not that complete command of the vernacular language, which the native preacher possesses. The latter is able, almost instinctively, to anticipate the prejudices, excuses and objections of his heathen countrymen. And it cannot be denied, because it is self-evident, that he enjoys, as a preacher, a number of natural advantages over his European brother. These, however, are counterbalanced, to some extent, by the very imperfect education which many native preachers of the present day have received,—and by the fact that in numerous instances they meet with much more contemptuous treatment, and more bitter opposition and contradiction, than the European missionary. We know that sometimes the reverse is the case: but we also know that very frequently the enemies of the gospel insult native preachers with a malignity which they would never think of manifesting towards Europeans.

On an itinerating tour, a foreign missionary, when approach-

ing a strange place, usually finds it more or less difficult to obtain ready access to the people, without the aid of a native brother to prepare the way for him. And if any of his hearers wish to enter into private conversation with him, they will rarely have the courage to do so, unless a native brother be at hand to introduce them. The latter also is usually much better able than he to form a correct estimate of the character and motives of such visitors.

Again, without the aid of a fellow-labourer or two, the missionary would often find it physically impossible to avail himself to their full extent of the opportunities for preaching that present themselves; for out-of-door preaching in a hot climate and in the midst of a steaming crowd, requires an amount of physical exertion and endurance which the strongest man cannot sustain much longer than an hour at a time.

There is also a great degree of moral beauty in the spectacle presented to the heathen by this fellowship of labour between the European missionary and his native brother. It at once shows that their hearts and their objects are one, and that Christianity constitutes a bond of brotherhood unknown to Hinduism.

Nevertheless we rejoice that we have native brethren, competent for and worthy of the great work of going forth alone, or in companies of two or three, to proclaim the gospel of salvation to their countrymen; and we hope and pray that their numbers, their labours, and their encouragements may be increased a hundred and a thousand fold.

The following Paper on the same subject was also read by the Secretary. It was prepared for the Conference, at the special request of the Committee, by the Rev. J. Stubbins of Cuttack in Orissa.

On Vernacular Preaching and Itinerancies.

By the Rev. J. Stubbins, *Cuttack.*

The missionaries in Orissa have ever regarded vernacular preaching as their paramount duty. They have ever held that other plans

are subordinate to this; and that whatever else may be omitted from their labours, this must never be. Judging from the results, God seems to have eminently honoured this kind of service among us. So far as preaching to the christians is concerned, the sermon has to be studied as it would be in English, only it is desirable to conduct that study as far as possible in the language in which the sermon is to be delivered, or it will be next to impossible for it to be easy, idiomatic, and impressive.

In carrying on *itinerant labours*, our mode of operation is very simple. As we can scarcely get any thing in the shape of food in the district, we are obliged to take every thing with us that we shall be likely to require for sickness or health, for necessity or luxury. Orissa being a dry country, we usually take two native carts, one for our tent, and the other for supplies of food, clothing, and books; which I need not describe in detail. All our tours, unless under special circumstances, are performed on horse-back. Our tent is pitched in the centre of a number of large villages or markets. We prefer the latter: only in some parts they are not very numerous. All these are visited, within a radius of four, five or six and occasionally as much as ten miles, and when the round is completed, which may occupy several days, we move on to another convenient encampment, then to another, till we accomplish a tour of one, two or three hundred miles; and are sometimes out for six weeks or two months together. I suppose, taking into account all our journeys to the villages, markets and festivals, we sometimes travel as much as a thousand miles during a cold season. In some parts of the district a cart is as great a novelty as a balloon: such a thing has never been seen or heard of there; consequently there are no roads, except such as you make as you go along over the rice-fields. The cart-driver is therefore furnished with a native pickaxe and spade, with which he cuts his way through the higher ridges in the fields. We have in addition two coolies: one to carry a light folding bed with all its appurtenances, and the other to carry a baughy-box containing a few clothes, books, some food and cooking apparatus, a light chair or morah and a small writing-case; so that in case the garries are not able to get up during the day, you have still food to eat and a bed to sleep upon, and you can generally get an empty house, shed or verandah to locate yourself in; if not, a good tree will furnish a shade by day and a little shelter by night.

We almost invariably commence our preaching opportunity by singing a page or so of any of our poetical tracts, the object of which is to attract a congregation ; and having collected a few hearers, the speaker commences his address on any subject which may appear most adapted to his audience, sometimes taking as a text a passage from the poem he has been singing, sometimes a native sloke, sometimes a striking portion of scripture, sometimes the remark of a bystander which he may have overheard, sometimes an incident which he may have seen, or an observation he may have heard on his way thither. Sometimes he may begin by addressing a few friendly enquiries to any given individual in the congregation, and founding his address upon some of the answers which may be given. There is one object to be accomplished, and that is ever to be borne in mind, viz. to lead man as a sinner to Christ the Saviour, and every thing must have an ultimate bearing on that point. It is scarcely possible to lay down any rule as to the way in which this should be done : very much must depend upon the circumstances of the time and the character of the congregation, but in every instance ; I apprehend, every thing like abstruse argument is to be most scrupulously avoided. Perhaps we sometimes miss our mark, by giving the people credit for understanding more than they do, the educated as well as the more uneducated. The *argumentum ad hominem* is the only one that will effectually tell, and that too in their *current language*. It is of the last importance for the missionary to study and speak the *language of the people* in addressing a crowd : let him reserve his Sanskrit plumes for his tent or elsewhere. This current language, however, cannot be acquired either from books nor even from the native christians who are trained up under us, since they acquire our modes of expression. It must be picked up among the people.

In preaching, you will sometimes find a congregation like so many statues, just as uninterested and unfeeling. This, of all things, I most utterly abhor. They are silent ; they do not oppose ; and this to a novice might be very pleasing. He might go to his tent and write in his journal ; ' Large congregation, very attentive, no opposition. May the impressions left be deepened.' Whereas any one, knowing how the matter really stood, would more properly write : " Dead, dead, all dead ! no feeling, no impression ! When shall these dry bones live ?" Wherever this horrible placidity manifests itself, leave your subject ; make

a dead pause; say something that will rouse either to laughter or rage; anything is better than this dead sea. Tell some rather humorous tale; relate some incident; address some one person; bore him till he answers you. When you have got him to open his lips, go on with another question, and another, till you get the people fairly awake, and then revert to your subject. One preacher at home quoted Greek to awaken a sleepy congregation; and something of the same eccentric character is not unfrequently required in preaching to the natives.

Sometimes you have a directly opposite state of things to contend with. You no sooner begin, than you feel that you have got your hand into a wasp's nest. Then, of course, your object is to silence, or at all events to moderate. When I have had a thoroughly noisy crowd, who were determined not to hear, I have often found it a good plan to sing a verse or two, after a very few sentences; they almost invariably become quiet while you are singing. Then speak a few telling sentences; and when they begin to noise again, do you begin to sing, and then put in a few more sentences, and so on. By degrees they mostly become more quiet, and in the end perhaps very attentive; and then you can kindly shew them the folly of opposition of the kind they have been practising: that you come to them because you love them, and of course it is for them to judge, when they have heard, if what you say be true or false, and they ought to reject or receive it. If however every effort to secure attention fails, embrace the most favourable moment to say: "Well, brethren, it was my duty to bring you the offers of salvation: I have done so, and now I am going: think of what you have heard. I shall be glad to see any of you at any time, salám:" then retreat as quietly as possible. Never manifest hurry or confusion, and never let it be seen that you are driven away, though such be in reality the case. Opposition most frequently arises from one or two naughty spirits, and it may be necessary to answer them according to their folly. This may often be done by a few sarcastic but good-natured remarks, made with a little tact. If your opponent be a Bráhman, you can sometimes say, "Are you aware, brother, what a dreadful sin you committed the other day, and the horrible punishment that awaits you for it? O, that pretty little daughter of yours, why did you sell her? Yes, you sold her in marriage for a little gain, because you are covetous! where is wickedness like this? You encourage *kanyá-*

dán, (daughter-giving) in the Sudra; (here appeal to the people if it is not so) but you have sold your own flesh and blood." Rally him thoroughly, working at the same time upon the feelings and sympathies of the people, by occasional references to them; and it will be next to impossible for him not to give in, only too glad to compromise the matter by so doing. At other times it may be necessary to expose their frauds and lies, and shew that, according to their own books, they have no claim to the title of Bráhman. Shew up their blessings and curses, by repeating a few of them.

When you have brought your opponents to a dead lock, turn the subject into your original channel by some such remarks as this: "Well, now you see, all the objects of your hope are false, and you know, a broken boat will never carry you safely over the sea of this world. But even if they were true, if all your gods and goddesses were what they are represented to be, yet you and I are sinners and we want a Saviour: what have any of these, what have all combined, done to save us? Have any of them died for us? Could they die, would they DIE, if they could for us? No, no! You have many gods but no Saviour. Now I have come to tell you of a real Saviour; of one who DID die for you; on purpose for you. Oh, what love, what love was his!"

Sometimes it produces an admirable effect to commence with a solemn and impressive subject. I have occasionally preached on the shortness of human life and the immortality of the soul, till I have seen several in tears. This address I commonly commence with a sort of quotation, shewing that at the longest we shall soon die, all die, that according to their own books, "Death sits on every one and is continually devouring," or according to another of their stanzas; "Human life is as a drop of water, standing tremulously on a lotus leaf;" that "death is God's Peon *(Mrityurúp Piyádá,)* to summon man into the divine presence. You may conceal yourselves from the Piyádás that man may send: you may excite their pity; you may bribe them; you may overpower them and make your escape: but where will you conceal yourselves from this Piyádá? Hide yourselves in the deepest jungle or the darkest cave, he will find you out; flee to foreign shores or brave the trackless deep; go where you will, he will find you out: the tearful entreaties and agonizing wail of wives children and friends excite not his pity, he turns a deaf ear to them all—your silver, your gold, your costly decorations: all, all that you esteem valuable, he despises

and tramples beneath his feet. Your youth, your strength, your banded leagues are but as straws before the whirlwind. What will you do? see, he is coming now, he is hastening to your village, is entering it now, is approaching your door, and so on."

Sometimes I expose their system by commencing with a quotation, shewing that, however much the objects of their worship might appear like reality, they are only illusions after all.

I very much like the plan of introducing pertinent quotations from their own books and shastras into addresses. Some of them are very striking and beautiful; and my impression is that the people will generally understand your subject, as these references serve as a key. They are familiar with them; and doubtless such an address is more attractive to them, while it increases their respect for your character and person, as "a wise man who knows their books and system."

We provide ourselves with what for the sake of convenience we call the preacher's Bazar Book. This is our constant companion. Into it goes every sloke or striking illustration; every new word that we may hear. It also contains a few outlines of addresses suited to different texts, subjects or occasions. This to a new missionary is especially valuable, and to him I would say: Never go out without your Bazar Book, note down there and then every new word, every effective argument or illustration, every useful proverb, every thing in short that may prove useful to you. So in reading native books. This book should be the missionary's companion, whether in the bazar, market, festival or study, and every thing should go into it. An important consideration with us is to attend festivals, whether far or near; and though some may question the propriety of going to such scenes of confusion, yet we can testify that some of the happiest results of our labours have been in connexion with these festivals. Multitudes from remote villages and swampy or jungly districts come together, hear the word, and receive tracts or books; thus light is diffused into regions which we could not visit. Some of our native preachers always accompany us in our tours. We either take a small tent for them on our cart; or allow them to sleep in the verandah of our own.

In conclusion, I would say to every one desirous of itinerating:

First. Determine to do it. A thousand difficulties may present themselves to the mind; some really important, and others only apparently so. The claims of the church, the interests of the station, spiritual and

secular, or the schools, will all present obstacles. There may also be a shrinking from the toils and privations inseparably connected with itineracy, separations from our families, especially if the station be a lonely one. Until there be a determined resolution to leave all, nothing will be done.

Secondly. Having determined to do it, *go into it* with all your heart. If in going from place to place you occasionally get into the mud or meet with accidents, still go on with your work. Having got to the preaching stand, work hard. The ranter-preacher at home quietly took off his coat, and laying it on the pulpit rails, said ; "Now Mr. Devil, here's at you." So do you in these festivals. Be in earnest, be accessible to the people, be familiar with them, invite them to your tent, treat them to a cigar, cultivate tact, winning expression, simplicity of language, ardent love. Do all you can to get into their hearts, that you may *deposit your Master there !*

The Rev. T. MORGAN of Howrah said; The great commission is to preach the gospel to every creature. Now what is meant by preaching? To know what preaching is, we must look to the example of Christ and his apostles. We find the Lord going about speaking constantly of spiritual things. Paul again had a sort of monomania for the preaching of the gospel. He determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified. It is admitted that a large number of conversions have been effected by means of schools, but still the conversions have been effected by the preaching of the gospel in the schools, and not by their secular instruction. As to the directions for preaching, contained in the papers read, he believes that no missionary who is in the habit of preaching can take any directions. He must be ready to suit himself to the various circumstances of those whom he addresses. The very things that it is most necessary to urge upon a Brâhman, there is no use for telling to a Sudra, and vice versâ. The address suitable to a congregation of traders in a market, will not be applicable to a congregation of cultivators in the field. As to going in company with native preachers, he generally prefers going alone. He can do by himself all that it is necessary to do; and the people have more confidence in a man who goes among them perfectly alone. For this reason, when on his itinerating tours, he does not even take the boatmen ashore with him to carry books, but carries them like a pedlar on his shoulder. He does not think a bazar a good place for preaching in: and much prefers going from house to house. His custom during his cold weather tours is to begin on one side of a river, the Damooda or Rupnarayan, and go to every village in succession. In each

village he generally finds a seat in one of the most respectable houses, and sends for the people of the village. Thus in two or three houses he can generally collect the whole of a large village: and the women of the house are sure to look and listen; although he does not see them, he knows that they are within hearing, and often says something that may be suitable to them. He has said that he goes with his books on his shoulder like a pedlar, and often did he wish that he had the wit and the tact that is said to be characteristic of the Yankey pedlar, the power of knowing instinctively to what houses he ought to go, and what description of wares to offer to each, and how to recommend his wares to unwilling purchasers. A missionary should make this his great work; but yet he would like to see as many plans in operation as possible. An old Scotchman once told him he had invented a machine for blowing thirteen fires at once. That is what we should aim at. Whatever any one can do best, let him do it: and God speed him.

The Rev. J. Williamson regards preaching as the great work of a missionary. He does not fully understand what is said in the paper read of the scholastic missionary; but is decidedly of opinion that a missionary should teach nothing else but the gospel. He does not understand the distinction drawn in the paper between preaching Chrisitanity, and preaching Christ. To him they seem one and the same thing. He has a good opinion of medical missions, and thinks that in some places they may be very useful. Being a medical man himself, he is often able to administer relief to sick persons, and it certainly does secure for him a better reception than he might otherwise meet with. In his estimation, the best places for preaching the gospel are villages and melás: religious festivals, where the people are mad with religious fervour, are worst of all. He has never practised the method of preaching from house to house. He has sometimes been invited by a respectable native into his house, to tell him about his system, and in such cases he has of course accepted the invitation, and preached the gospel. But it is chiefly the lower classes that hear us in the villages. Even the women will now sometimes come to hear the preaching of the gospel, and the feeling of the people towards the missionaries is greatly changed during the period over which his experience extends.

The Rev. R. Bion would say, that a missionary in Eastern Bengal feels the necessity of preaching the gospel directly. People no doubt possess different gifts: and should exercise those they have. As to the mode of preaching he would say, he generally goes from village to village. But he is not so averse to bazars and markets, as some of his brethren. He has often a very attentive audience before the market begins, and has often seen a manifest impression made on the people. The results already

achieved are very great. You may go through the whole of East Bengal, through the districts of Dacca, Tipperah, Mymensingh, Bogra and Pubna; you will find that every where the prejudices of the people have to a great extent given way. Lately when he was preaching in a place to the North of Dacca, one of the audience asked a bráhman what he had to say to all this, and he confessed before hundreds that he had nothing at all to say against it, that it is all true and good. He has no sympathy with those who say that the people are too old, or too ignorant, or too depraved, to be converted by the preaching of the gospel. If we preach to them in our own strength, we can make no impression on them, but the Spirit of God can convert their hearts. Hence the necessity for more earnest and constant prayer. We should strive to keep constantly before our minds the solemn fact that we are living in the midst of a generation that will soon pass away, and should address them under the influence of this consideration. He wished to say, in conclusion, that he has often met with young men that had been educated in the Free Church Institution in Calcutta, and he always found them more respectful, and better disposed towards missionaries and the gospel, than any other class.

The Rev. E. Storrow would ask to what extent the practice has been adopted of setting out without any definite route being fixed as necessary to be passed over, but with the intention of remaining, as the apostles evidently did, a considerable time in one place, if there seems to be a disposition to hear the gospel.

Mr. Morgan has sometimes remained for five, six and eight days in one central place, going out into the neighbouring villages. Sometimes also he has arranged to return by the same way that he went, so as to give each place two visits separated by a short interval.

The Rev. C. Bomwetsch has adopted the same course; staying a fortnight at a time in one place; and visiting the same place at different times. He thinks that the great defect in itinerant preaching is that alluded to by Mr. Storrow. If we are not able to follow up any impression that may be made, it is sure to be lost. What we most want, is a larger and better supply of native agency: of this agency he much approves and employs it. He regards going from house to house as the best mode of conducting operations. This plan has been adopted with great success on the Malabar Coast. He is in the habit of visiting the houses of respectable natives. This enables him to maintain a friendly intimacy, and at fitting times to preach the gospel to them. He would congratulate the educational missionaries on the great success that has attended their labours. Amongst all the missionaries there are none that he admires and loves so much as the Free Church brethren, and he even gave offence in England and Germany, during his late visit, by the strong terms in which

he spoke of them and their operations. But the great majority of missionaries ought to be constantly engaged in direct preaching; which he thinks has not had a fair trial.

The Rev. F. Schurr is always out itinerating one or two months in the cold weather, but his engagements in connexion with the native church do not allow him to do so much in this way as he would like. His great faith is in the direct preaching of the gospel. It must be preached to all, young and old, educated and uneducated alike. He considers books and tracts of great service as auxiliaries to the preaching of the gospel. Sometimes a preacher finds a book or a tract has preceded him into a district that he has never visited before, and has prepared the people to receive him. At other times the books that he leaves behind serve to deepen and strengthen the impressions produced by his preaching. As to the mode of conducting itinerancies, he would take the liberty to state to the Conference a proposal that he made some years ago. He would have bungalows or native houses erected in different favourable localities, so that the missionary, whether European or native, might remain for a month or six weeks in one place, if he found inducement to do so. He would have these bungalows erected as the centres of circles of ten or fifteen miles radius. They would not cost much, and they would be of immense service.

The Rev. J. Mullens thought that the opponents of educational operations as conducted by missionaries, ought not to complain, because, including the two Scottish Missions in Calcutta, only one-fourth of the Bengal missionaries were engaged in the English Institutions. In all India, including the Presidency towns, only one-tenth were employed in them to any extent. To all other missionaries, four hundred in number, the vernacular languages are necessary: and all that number can employ them in preaching directly to the heathen in their own tongue. From his own experience he could testify that such preaching is by far the most attractive department of missionary work. There are few departments more delightful in themselves, or more important in their bearing on the people. For himself he can say that he has enjoyed greater pleasure in preaching to a heathen congregation in the two bazar chapels he attends in Calcutta and Bhowanipore, than either in teaching his classes in the Institution, or in ministering to his native church. Probably all will be agreed in assigning the very first place to this branch of labor; but other departments ought not to be undervalued. Who can desire to find fault with the Bible translator, or with the tract writer, who supplies the preacher with his tracts? Certainly mofussil missionaries will not do so, when they receive such large supplies of christian books from the Calcutta Societies. The best mode of conducting this branch of work must

doubtless be learned mainly by practice, though the hints of experienced missionaries are of great value to beginners. The way in which the gospel is now received throughout the country, both by the higher and the lower classes, is highly gratifying. It is satisfactory to find that at present there is not much need of controversy; the people are generally willing to listen to the simple preaching of the gospel. Indeed it is astonishing to see how eagerly and how long they listen. Since his visit to Orissa in 1849, he has adopted the plan of the bazar-book mentioned by Mr. Stubbins, and finds it of great use.

Dr. Boaz thought that one or two things in Mr. Wenger's paper require correction. The statements as to the habit of satirizing the Hindu system might give rise to the impression that missionaries are in the habit of doing so; and that they do not give a plain and simple statement of the gospel of Christ. He understands that satirical allusions to the gods and goddesses have long been discontinued.

The Rev. E. Yate asked, how we are to act, when we are virtually forced to expose the Hindu system. He also wished to ask whether, instead of preaching, question and answer might not be adopted with advantage.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert also asked, whether it was very advisable for missionaries to visit melas and festivals; and whether the tracts and portions of scripture given there, had been known frequently to bear fruit.

The Rev. A. F. Lacroix, the chairman, would make a few remarks on some points that had come under discussion. On the advantages of preaching at melas and festivals, it is quite true that the minds of the people are not in the best state for listening to the gospel; but still before the mela fairly begins and when the great excitement is over, many most favourable opportunities may be got of preaching. It is not likely that deep impressions will be made at the time, but many may be brought within hearing of the gospel on these occasions, who else would have no opportunity of hearing it; although their minds may be too much excited to be deeply impressed at the time, it is not unlikely that what they have heard, may adhere to their minds after the excitement has passed away; and there are pleasing instances of this on record. We generally select a quiet spot on the outskirts of the crowd and not in the midst of the mela. As to the topics of preaching; he formerly used to go far in attacking Hinduism; but now finds it more profitable to preach the simple gospel; to preach Christ, the story of his life, his death, his resurrection and ascension, his presence with us now and the certainty of his future judgment. Yet, he would not avoid all attacks on Hinduism. It is absolutely necessary to expose its falsehood, and all the more on account of the prevalent belief of the people, that all religions are equally good, that Chris-

tianity is best for us, but that Hinduism is best for them. Among the men who have received an English education, there are many who are convinced of the falsehood of Hinduism, but have doubts as to the truth of Christianity; but with the people generally the very opposite is the case. A proper Hindu will admit fully and in the most unqualified terms that Christianity is true and that it is an admirable system, and you may go away under the impression that you have convinced him and that he is in a very hopeful state. But no such thing, you have never touched his belief that Hinduism is also true; and if it be not quite so good, that is just because you are more fortunate than he, just as you have got a white face and he a black one. But one thing he would say, that the missionary ought always to begin with Christianity, and wherever he has occasion to controvert Hinduism, he should do it in such a tone and manner, as will manifest his kindliness towards those whom he is addressing. By following this course he meets with very little opposition, even in the Chitpore Road, which used to be by far the noisiest and often most unmanageable preaching chapel in Calcutta. The success attending vernacular preaching is apt to be under-estimated. We generally think of those who have been converted under the influence of a particular sermon, and the number of such is certainly small. But in another way a very important influence has been exerted. A few persons have been converted; then a church has been formed, and ordinances maintained; and through the influence of these ordinances and the example and influence of the christians or their neighbors and friends, many have been added to the church. To the South of Calcutta it was mainly through the influence and example of the first converts that the leaven spread. He is persuaded that the time has now come, when all should bestir themselves more than ever in this department of work. At one time he was opposed to schools, and did not think them a proper mode of applying missionary resources. But he has changed his opinion, and believes that in certain places and in certain circumstances, christian education is one of the most powerful agencies that can be brought to bear upon the people. There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. What he would now say very earnestly is, that each one of us should do that work for which he is best qualified by the Spirit of God, and to which the providence of God directs him.

Resolution on Vernacular Preaching.

After considerable discussion, the following Resolution was adopted upon this subject:

"That this Conference concur generally in the views now given by Messrs. Wenger and Stubbins of the sphere of vernacular preaching, and

of the modes in which it may be best carried on. Amongst the various means employed in India for the fulfilment of the great commission, they regard the preaching of the gospel to the people *in their own tongue* either by European missionaries or by preachers raised up in the country, as the work of highest importance. Though attended with difficulties, they consider it admirably adapted to the instruction of all, who can be brought under its influence; but they regret that owing to the state and constitution of native society, there are certain classes, such as the members of wealthy families, and nearly the whole female population, who are rarely reached by its agency. So important is it in their eyes, that they consider, that every missionary on arriving in the country should endeavour so to master the language as to be able personally to engage in it: and while such as learn to speak it well, should, if not otherwise directed by Providence, devote to vernacular preaching their entire attention, those who are directed to other plans, should also give to it as much time and effort as they can. They consider that owing to the state of the native mind, every department of vernacular preaching should receive the most careful study; in order that a missionary may be completely prepared for the various circumstances under which the Hindus are addressed by him; and especially for the numerous objections with which they meet his exhortations. With a view to secure, as far as possible, the same hearers, they think that in the neighbourhood of a missionary's house or station, preaching in the bazar to the heathen should be conducted with regularity and on system. They also approve highly of extensive itinerancies amongst villages and towns beyond the ordinary sphere of his labour; of visits to the great markets, and (in spite of certain disadvantages) of visits to the crowds attending the great melás and religious festivals. If practicable, such itinerancies should be regular and systematic, so that a missionary may re-visit the same villages, or may remain at any place that seems peculiarly open to the gospel. Though not absolutely necessary, they think that in such itinerancies missionaries may, with great advantage, accompany each other or be accompanied by native catechists: while their visits and their preaching should be followed up by a judicious distribution of suitable tracts and portions of the Word of God.

"In looking at the results of vernacular preaching in Bengal, they acknowledge with regret, that though the majority of missionaries

have been engaged, for many years, in various parts of the country in this department of missionary labour, it is a remarkable fact that, as compared with the amount of labour and journeying, the number of known conversions to which vernacular preaching to the heathen in the bazar by missionaries has immediately led, seems to have been small. Indirectly it has produced enquiry, brought enquirers into connection with christians and christian services; and in conjunction with other agencies has led to the formation of the native churches now existing. Especially has it contributed to that marked change in religious views, both as to the character of Hinduism and the worth of Christianity, which distinguishes the present generation of the Hindus from those which have preceded it. Regarding these fruits as of the highest importance, the members of this Conference feel abundantly encouraged to continue preaching the word every where, sure that the promise will be fulfilled, that we shall reap if we faint not."

With a view to promote the increase of efficient vernacular preaching in all parts of the country, it was also resolved, on the motion of the Rev. Messrs. Mullens and Smith:

"That a Committee be appointed to draw up and publish a Hand-Book for the use of vernacular preachers, similar to the manuscript Bazar-Book, which has been in use for many years among the Orissa missionaries: that the Book be made of a portable form; and that it be published by subscription, its price, if practicable, not exceeding one rupee. That the Committee consist of the Rev. Messrs. Lacroix, Morgan, Wenger and Mullens; Mr. Lacroix being convener."

As some members of the Conference strongly object to certain portions of the Resolution on Vernacular Preaching, the Conference permitted them to place the following expression of their dissent among the official proceedings of these meetings.

Dissent from the Resolution on Vernacular Preaching.

"We dissent from that portion of the above resolution respecting vernacular preaching, which pronounces it to be the department of missionary work of highest importance; and that for the following reasons, viz.

1. Because the resolution is virtually a censure upon some of the most venerable missionaries who have ever laboured in this land, who

have been mainly employed in other departments of missionary labour, as Bible Translation, Education and the pastorship of native churches. We cannot join in a resolution which necessarily implies that these men have been employed only in subordinate departments of the work.

2. Because in other places, the resolution will probably be understood as implying this censure in a greater degree than the discussions in the Conference shewed that the members understood it; and in the opinion of the dissentients, the Resolution is liable to such mis-construction.

3. Because one effect of the Resolution will be, to induce young missionaries, when entering upon their labour, to rush into the most difficult department of missionary work, before they are properly qualified for it, and will unduly excite prejudices in their minds against various departments of the work, before they are capable of exercising an independent judgment as to the comparative value of the several branches into which missionary labour is divided.

4. Because we consider that in certain places, and for certain classes, vernacular preaching is not the most important branch of missionary work.

(Signed) Thomas Smith. James Ogilvie.
John Anderson. John Trafford.
James Long. Edward Storrow.
William C. Fyfe. John Fordyce.
Lal Behari De.

For the second, third and fourth reasons: John Pourie.

Wednesday Afternoon.

A short adjournment at half-past one followed the discussion on Vernacular Preaching: but the Conference having resumed, a hymn was sung, and the Rev. T. Gardiner offered prayer. The chairman then called on the Rev. D. Ewart, at present the senior Member of the Free Church Mission in Calcutta, to introduce the fourth subject appointed for discussion; which he did by reading the following paper:

On English Missionary Education.

Mr. Chairman and Brethren,—I do not wish to regard myself, on the present occasion, as the apologist of our English Mis-

sionary Education. I would rather desire to be regarded, on this occasion, as occupying the position of an Expounder of the system, in some of its most prominent features. I am not unwilling, if need be, however, also to assume the character of an apologist, fully satisfied as I am, that our English Missionary Educational Institutions have proved a source of more benefit, than can now be told, to the communities among which they have been established and carried on; and also knowing, as I do, that to a goodly number the education and instruction, received in these Institutions, have proved the blessed means of leading them from the paths of error and ungodliness to Him, who is the way and the truth and the life. Time was, when even in our Calcutta Missionary Conference the question was calmly asked, whether the man who taught the gospel to the pupils of a school, could be regarded as a missionary at all. That question may be raised again; and if so, it will be necessary to point out the basis of that freedom, as many of us feel it to be, in accordance with which we carry our pupils onward, throughout the various branches of a literary and scientific education, in order to secure their attendance at our classes for Bible and religious instruction. In the meantime we are at liberty to assert, that it is a fact that almost all, if not all, missionary bodies in this country do engage, to a greater or less extent, in carrying on this branch of missionary operations. It is also a fact that it has pleased the Great Head of the Church to sanction, by his presence and blessing, the labours of those who are engaged in carrying on these Institutions. Not a few fruits have been granted to such labourers: souls have been gathered in from the realms of heathenism, and brought into the kingdom of righteousness and peace. Many have been weaned from error, and, although in the dangerous state of halting between two opinions, they may be regarded as more the friends than the opponents of the truth.

But, waiving all further preliminary remarks, I proceed directly to the exposition of the subject assigned to me, availing

myself of the topics stated in the programme of the proceedings of this General Conference of Missionary brethren. The topics specified there, are—

1. The peculiar sphere of English Missionary Education.
2. Its special aim.
3. Its real influence.
4. Its success.

1. English education can be of no use to the great masses of the population. The agricultural labourer, and even the village trader, and the great body of those occupied in the various branches of mechanic labour, have no inducement whatever to spend eight, ten or twelve years of their lives in applying themselves to the acquisition of English literature and the sciences of the west. For these vast masses of human beings, the greatest boon that could be vouchsafed, in the way of merely secular education, would be the means of acquiring the power of reading and writing in their own tongue, and of casting up accounts in the vernacular way, with such improvements as the highly advanced state of modern education may suggest to the intelligent superintendents of vernacular schools and academies. But there is a numerous class of persons who belong to what may be called the middle ranks of the native population,—middle ranks, not as regards caste; for many of those alluded to are of the highest caste; but middle ranks, as regards wealth and worldly influence. These are to be found at all the zillah stations and chief towns. There are many openings for them in Government offices, and in various branches of the public service. An English education opens the door for them, and facilitates their advancement to situations of trust and emolument. The youth of these classes, consisting of young Bráhmans, young Vaidyas, young Káisthas of all grades and subdivisions, and multitudes of the weaver caste, and of others who cannot lay claim to be ranked among Káisthas, are most eager to be regarded as candidates for such situations as we have alluded to; and, in order to qualify themselves for employment, are eager in the pursuit of English

literature and science. The consequence is that in all towns or villages, where a large number of these classes reside, an English school is no sooner opened than its benches are filled; and if it be conducted with any degree of efficiency, the numbers may not only be kept up, but increased day by day, and year by year.

The number of young Bráhmans who will be found in such schools is much more than many, perhaps, would venture to suppose. I have often found them constitute nearly one-fourth of the whole. And when we consider what an influence Bráhmans have over the minds of the vulgar in this priest-ridden land, we may readily concede the mighty importance of the minds of that powerful and influential caste becoming imbued with the sound principles of modern philosophy, and with the pure and self-evidencing truths of the holy oracles. Of scarcely less importance is it that the vast tribes of Ghoshes, Mitras, Basus, Dattas, Dáses, Des and the like, should be raised to the contemplation of truth in all its departments. How can this be done, in the present state of native society, save through education in one form or another? And the kind of education suited to effect the desired end, is not that which nurses the overweening vanity of native youth, by leading them onward through the speculations of philosophy, and the rigid demonstrations of science, without calling upon them to consider what they are, and what they ought to be, both with reference to time and eternity. It is that species of education which is aimed at by missionary Institutions; in which science and literature and philosophy are made the handmaids of religion; and in which every branch of knowledge, which is not directly and purely religious, is at least made indirectly conducive to religion, and in some measure subreligious.

We would, then, say that the middling classes of society, so far as wealth and influence form the basis of classification, constitute the peculiar sphere of this branch of missionary labour; and the places where these middling classes are to be

found are the localities where we are to put forth our efforts. But some may say, these are just the localities occupied by Government schools and colleges. We would make no account of that. The Government system of education may command the attendance at its schools and colleges of the sons of the wealthy classes; but it leaves the great mass of the middling classes untouched, and as yet has done almost nothing for the people at large. Let the missionary Institution be placed side by side with the Government college, and there the missionary will be ready to avail himself of any opportunities which the reception of a non-religious education may throw in his way; and he will be sure to receive into his own Institution multitudes who cannot obtain entrance in the Government seminary. I frankly avow that in my humble opinion the education in the missionary Institution ought, as a matter of principle, to be free. But, without entering now upon the discussion of the principle, it is easy to see the power and influence which the offer of a free education gives the missionary over the minds of his pupils. They feel that they are altogether under his control and at his disposal; and that as he admits them freely, so he is at liberty to forbid their attendance, without reference to any other consideration than the full exercise of his own judgment regarding their conduct.

But the best sphere for missionary educational Institutions is a metropolis and its immediate suburbs. There, are masses of all the different classes of men whose sons desire English education. These are gathered from many distant places, and will bring their youth with them, to have them educated under their own eye, and spending the evenings and mornings under the same roof as themselves. The father, uncle, brother goes to his shop, his office, or his peculiar line of business, whatever it may be, among the many departments of employment which the metropolis opens up, in the bazar, in the merchant's office, in the courts of law, or the Government secretariats; at the same time the youths go to school, and are busily occupied during the hours when a guardian's surveillance cannot be

extended towards them. In the evening they both return home, the Babu from his office, the boy from his school. There is a convenience in all this, which leads to the collection in Calcutta of a vast number of young persons;—and we know not to what extent schools might be multiplied in this metropolis. The supply, during my experience, has not, as yet, got ahead of the demand. But we must now say somewhat—

2. On the special AIM of English missionary education. This is, and always ought to be, the evangelization of the pupils. We repudiate any other system than that which makes the conversion of sinners to God the chief end, and all the other machinery of the school subordinate to this; and, in order to effect this, missionaries should be the head teachers in the Institution. That will not be a thoroughly evangelistic Institution, where the missionary merely walks in now and then, showing his interest indeed, but taking no active share in the work. He must make himself thoroughly acquainted with the youths, and prove his disinterested desire after their improvement, by showing himself not above taking pains to instruct them in all branches of truth, availing himself of every opening to enforce the principles of true morality and true religion, as inseparable, and connected the one with the other, the former with the latter, as the branches, leaves and fruit with the parent root and trunk. While thinking on this subject, I happened to cast my eye on one of our religious periodicals for the present month, containing an article on missionary schools. The writer of that article disposes of the whole question in a very summary and off-hand sort of way. No disrespect is meant to him by these remarks. But it appears to me that *his* reasons for missionaries withdrawing from education, constitute some of the strongest reasons for some missionaries, at least, making education their exclusive department. He says, "No doubt, it is desirable for missionaries to get and to retain an influence over schools, as far as possible, because they afford a large field for preaching the gospel to numbers of impressible minds. Still, to be themselves

actively engaged in imparting secular knowledge, appears to be quite foreign to the proper work of a missionary in a land circumstanced as this is at present." Now, in our opinion, the missionary can neither get nor retain an influence over *scholars*, unless he be himself actively engaged in communicating knowledge to them. The missionary does not establish schools for the bare purpose of civilizing or instructing; but he establishes them as instruments for evangelizing; and just as the apostles gained a patient hearing by exercising the power of working miracles, and followed it up by preaching: so the missionary, engaged in an educational Institution, gains for himself a patient hearing by imparting useful and eagerly-desired knowledge, call it secular if you will, and follows it up by preaching the gospel to the impressible minds that surround him. Here surely is no confounding of means and end; but an application of means, in my judgment far more likely to secure the end than those which this writer suggests. He thinks, education could be carried on equally well, though all missionary schools were closed; and that missionaries might retain an influence over schools, the charge of which was undertaken as a *speculation.* We question both these points. In my opinion, to give a missionary sufficient influence over a school for evangelization, the school must be one that affords gratuitous education, a school in which the missionary is himself the chief person, the teacher of highest literature and the instructor in highest science. In no other way, can he obtain a full hold over the minds of its scholars. But let him never lose sight of his *special aim,* the glorifying of God, in teaching and enforcing and exemplifying the tenets of the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

3. Let me now allude to the third topic, the REAL INFLUENCE of English missionary education. I should almost like to decline saying any thing on this topic; because I believe that the real influence of any missionary operation, the making of books, and translations of Scripture, preaching in the vernacular tongue, or teaching in schools, cannot be fully known till

the secrets of all hearts are revealed, in the day when the Son of man shall come in his glory, surrounded by his holy angels, and shall sit on the throne of his glory. But I may state a few real influences which are palpable to every observer, even now. Our missionary education convinces men that missionaries, who in these days cannot work miracles, are really zealous for their advantage and welfare in this world. And it convinces men that missionaries do not fear the spread of knowledge, and that they desire that the arguments which they bring forward on behalf of the gospel, should be tested and judged of by the same kind of criteria as are to be used in testing the truths of other arguments. This shows that, if deceivers, they are the most disinterested of deceivers; seeing they furnish their audience with the best known weapons for detecting the deception.

But the most marked influence, produced by our missionary Institutions, is the utter annihilation of some of the greatest difficulties with which missionaries have to contend in endeavouring to evangelize this people. The general education, coupled with the religious instruction, even where it fails to bring the youths to Christ, has a certain and powerful destructive tendency, as regards all confidence in the Hindu shastras, and all regard to the distinctions of caste. There may be an outward conformity to the innumerable requirements of the Hindu religion—there may be a public adherence to the distinctions of caste. But the spell is effectually broken, and never can again acquire its lost power. How can it be otherwise? The haughty and youthful deified twice-born,—who often, on his way to the place of learning, is stopped by the cringing sudra to dip his young brahmanical toe in a basin of water,—learns at the prelection and in the class-room to form a different estimate of things. Some scion of a humble sudra stock may there, with ease, take the highest place. Or, though the Bráhman, which is not unfrequent, excel in literature and science, as well as occupy the highest rank in the contingencies of birth, yet he finds that to maintain his position, he must trust, not to such contingencies, but to applica-

tion and mental superiority, and that if he slacken his application, or cease to put forth his power, some Dás or De, or Sáhá or Láhá will immediately take a higher place than his. I believe that, if you had the means of scrutinizing the tenets and opinions of the members of the upper classes of our Institutions, you would not find more than a few who would venture to avow any confidence in the shástras of Hinduism, or who would describe caste as any thing more than a fiction of the Bráhmans to maintain their own supremacy.

But we would say more. Christian education elevates the moral tone, even of unbelievers; and just as the irreligious man in a christian land may have a high standard of honour, which the decencies of a community, living under the influences of the pure and exalted morality of the gospel, force upon him; so the youth, who is disciplined and taught in accordance with the moral principles of the Bible, and is dealt with and treated on these principles, learns insensibly to respect these principles, and those who profess them and act upon them. And this influence extends in native society. We know many whose consciences are thus christianized, and who, although not professing christians, do homage to the supremacy of the gospel in their hearts and lives.

But some one may say, What is gained by such an influence operating on native minds? We unhesitatingly reply,—Much is gained; because the most formidable of those hindrances, which have been so distinctly stated and dwelt upon by our respected and esteemed brother, who brought this subject before the Conference—are entirely done away with, in the case of those who have benefited by our instructions in our missionary Institutions.

4. But those various influences, though vastly important as preparatory means, we do not regard as constituting their success. We are by no means inclined, however, to listen to what many say regarding preparatory work; or to admit the soundness of their reasoning, when they endeavour to do away with all that is said about preparation, by falling back

upon the sovereignty of God. We fully admit the sovereignty of God as supreme and irresistible. But the record of his will discloses to us that he exercises his sovereignty, so far as man is concerned, by the employment of means, and often by a series of preparatory operations; and that, even when he has been pleased to have recourse to miraculous agency, it has often been to prepare the minds of his servants for after enlargement in true knowledge. But in taking up the remaining topic of the subject assigned to me, I shall simplify the whole matter by considering *success* to signify admissions to the Church. And yet, while making this concession, I feel that Mr. Smith was quite right in what he said, at our meeting yesterday, regarding some who die in the faith without obtaining or having it in their power to obtain baptism. Two remarkable instances of this kind were communicated to Mr. Wylie by myself some years ago, and published by him in a pamphlet regarding the influence of the Bible; and also I think as an appendix to the report of the Bible Society. I have no manner of doubt that those two brothers died in the faith of Christ, and that they were accepted through him. There are other cases that might be specified. Those I have alluded to, were adduced at the time as specimens of a class. But let us only speak of admissions to the church. I have not had opportunities of collecting any thing like general statistics on this subject: I shall therefore confine my remarks to the mission to which I myself belong. I believe that the results of our operations in educational mission work may be regarded as a very fair specimen, indicative of the average amount of success in all similar efforts. We were first in the field, in endeavouring to give full effect to this branch of labour; and we laboured for several years without having many direct seals of our ministry. But of late, that is to say, within the last sixteen years, no year has passed away, without several being admitted into the church by baptism. Other labourers have followed us in the same path of operation, and, without having had to experience the initiatory difficulties against which we had to contend,

have, as I believe, had at least equal, if not greater encouragement.

Since the commencement of our mission in 1830, we have admitted into the church by baptism—

Of males, ... 70
Of females, ... 31

In all, ... 101

With the exception of about 10 persons, these are the results of our educational labours, and have received instruction in the saving truths of the gospel, either in our Calcutta and Chinsurah Institutions, or in our Branch Schools, or in the Orphan Home for females, formerly under Miss Laing, now under the Rev. John Fordyce. Some few of these have fallen into sin, and been separated from the mission. But the great majority have proved stedfast and consistent Christians. And some of our brightest jewels are transplanted to glory, and surround the throne of the Lamb, glorifying him who washed them in his blood and redeemed them from all iniquity.

Of the males, ... 22 are Bráhmans,
Of the females, ... 5 are Bráhmanis,

That is,..... ..... 27 persons, more than one-fourth of the whole, belong to that class which was long supposed to be the most inaccessible to the truths of the gospel in this land. We do not make this remark from any desire to exult in the baptism of persons of the brahmanical class, more than in the baptism of the humblest sudra. The souls of those of low birth are as precious in the sight of God as the souls of those of high birth. But viewing the question nationally, and with reference to the obstructions which are in our way, we cannot but regard it as a proof that the Lord of the vineyard is removing the obstacles in our way, and giving us more and more a door of entrance unto this people, when we see these instances of conversion from among a class, who are regarded by this people as gods upon earth.

Some of these converts are scattered abroad in various employments, some in connection with our own mission, and a few in connection with other missions, and some are in secular employment. These, we have reason to say, are all doing well. A small native church, consisting of those families and single persons connected with the mission, resident in Calcutta, assembles every sabbath evening for worship in the vernacular tongue.

There are connected with the mission, as native missionaries and teachers :—

Four* preachers.

Three Catechists, applicants to be licensed for preaching.

Two Probationary Catechists, and—

Several applicants for being taken on trial for that office.

Four efficient Christian Teachers.

The numbers above given do not include some 24 children connected with the mission, and some of them now attending our Institutions and schools. Nor do they include a considerable number of persons who, though not admitted into the church in connection with our mission, have yet received the elements of christian instruction under us, and have gone abroad into the world, with tendencies which led them to listen to christian truth in other places, with less prejudice and with more attention, than they would have done under other circumstances. There are considerable numbers, in short, who having attended our Institution in their early years, have withdrawn from various causes, and have afterwards embraced the truth, acknowledging that their first impressions were received in our class-rooms. In some of these cases, a wonder-

* At the time when this was written, three of the preachers had passed their trials for ordination, and the Free Church Presbytery of Calcutta, being highly satisfied with the manner in which the probationers had acquitted themselves, had resolved to ordain them on Sabbath the 9th Sept. This ordination took place at the appointed time, and Jagadiswar Bhattáchárjya, Prasanna Kumár Cháttarjya and Lál Bíhári De, are ordained missionary ministers.

ful manifestation of the gracious providence of God, in bringing the sword of the Spirit to act upon the souls of men, has been manifested. A minute account of such would be highly edifying and interesting to every christian. Many of these cases were collected and shortly described by my friend Bíhári Lal Singh, one of our preachers, and published by him, in a small pamphlet, which he drew up to prove that the number of conversions from among the alumni of missionary Institutions, far exceeded the number of conversions from among the alumni of non-missionary colleges and seminaries.

The Rev. J. Long, of the Calcutta Church Mission, has been engaged for fifteen years in education, either English or Bengali, and thinks it desirable to know the views of different parties. Many will not object to the first-rate Institutions where a complete education is given, who will object to secondary Institutions in which the education is but partial. In such schools the lads cannot be well educated, their minds are not really improved. Those who can give time and labour to secure a good education in English are few.

The question is as to the usefulness of giving a mere smattering of it to the many, who cannot devote much attention to its acquirement. Will not the great mass of the people be more benefited by a thoroughly good vernacular education? He is decidedly of opinion that, for them, vernacular education is greatly preferable to an English one. Far greater efforts should be made, than have hitherto been made by missionaries, to promote such education. To whom are we to look for a real diffusion of knowledge among the masses? The Government will do but little. The zemindars and the rich natives will do nothing. Those who have received an English education themselves, have done much less than might reasonably have been expected of them. It is to the missionaries alone then that we can look for the education of the people through the vernacular languages. There are 80,000 vernacular schools in Bengal and Behar. There is a great educational movement going on throughout the country, and the missionaries should take a prominent part in it.

The Rev. E. Stuart, Church Mission, agrees with Mr. Long as to the value of secondary English schools, and thinks them all but valueless. But some think that certain difficulties necessitate them. Some laymen, for instance, imagine that no missionary can be well understood in the native languages; and that to get two or three hundred boys to read the New Testament is a very good thing. Others again consider it is only through schools that the difficulties of caste can be overcome. He has often

thought that this class of schools, taking no fee, induce many persons to send their sons, who would not have them at all educated, if the schools were not free. A fee would much reduce this class. One advantage of these missionary institutions undoubtedly is, that we can really preach the gospel continually and most intelligibly to a large class, to whom the gospel would not otherwise be accessible.

Rev. T. Smith, agrees with much that has been said respecting secondary schools. If English education is to be prosecuted at all, it must be prosecuted with vigour, in order to do good. As to the *sphere* of English education, all are agreed that it is found in the large towns. Only in peculiar localities will it be otherwise. Thus the Free Church have a station at Culna. Though but a second-rate town, a peculiar desire for English education exists there. The reason is that it is an outport of Calcutta, and all the produce of a district is poured through it into the Ganges. Still the school has not flourished much: the desire being but limited.

In reference to the *special aims* of missionary Institutions, he would add to Mr. Ewart's views the training of a native ministry. To this notion some will object, that men should be trained when christians. This is true; but it cannot be disputed that we do begin their training better, and carry it on better, by taking men with minds already educated and disciplined. He does not disparage men otherwise trained. But all men will admit the advantage to those being trained for a native ministry, of a previous mental culture, such as the English missionary Institutions give. There is no antagonism between this English system and vernacular preaching. He thinks *this* system, the best means for promoting vernacular preaching. Many missionaries can preach; but where foreigners speak *our* tongue, there is a barrier between them and us. So it is with us in India. Missions therefore only *begin*, when a band of native missionaries is trained up, who may preach to their countrymen, with all those peculiarities in feeling, mode of thought, and associations which the latter will thoroughly appreciate.

He would notice another point of Mr. Ewart's address, the free admission: and merely state that on that point he differs from him; thinking that in consideration of the valuable secular education given, a small fee might well be paid.

The Rev. E. Storrow, of the London Mission, while substantially agreeing with Mr. Ewart, would take exception to the gratuitous system. He thinks there is no objection in principle to the taking of a fee, considering the education given; and that owing to the great expense of these Institutions, it should be imposed: the amount being a question of expediency. Much misunderstanding is abroad respecting the *reason* for main-

taining these schools; they are sustained not so much as the means of giving intellectual, as moral and religious training. Some think that in them missionaries teach logic, arithmetic and geography to none but little boys: those usually taught by missionaries are young men between 14 and 24 years of age; and instruction in the christian evidences and moral philosophy always engage a large share of attention. These Institutions should be of a high character, or else they can neither compete with Government colleges, nor retain the pupils for a sufficiently long time.

The greatest *use* of these Institutions consists in bringing a large number of well educated young men belonging to the upper classes of society under a thoroughly christian influence, and thereby preserving them from infidelity, to which government education frequently leads. We also exert a good influence on students from schools under native management or the Hindu College, and they learn from us Christianity. The very existence of Government Colleges ought to induce us to have Christian Colleges; otherwise the sons of the wealthy will go downward into infidelity; and the whole of the upper and educated classes will thus be lost to us.

As to their results: we have received a large number of converts, of whose conversion we can have no doubt. But we are exerting a powerful influence on the people generally, in turning away their minds from idolatry, caste and other evils. The moral tone also of young men educated in our missionary Institutions is greatly elevated. They are invaluable as a barrier against that infidelity which threatens to rise up in the place of Hinduism.

The Rev. J. Ogilvie, of the General Assembly's Institution, had little more to do than to thank Mr. Ewart for his excellent paper. He was surprised at Mr. Stuart's statement that the terms employed in preaching salvation must of necessity be intelligible to all mankind; whereas it is well known that while these words exist among the Hindus, their meanings expound Hindu notions. The aim of missionary Institutions is doubtless the evangelization of the pupils. A question arises: How far should secular education be carried? For a considerable time after pupils can read the New Testament, they read it with great interest, but generally they decline. Perhaps this is because an undue proportion is given to the secular departments. He thinks that the amount of secular knowledge is carried far enough. Mere secular education leads only to infidelity, as Whately has clearly shewn.

The Rev. J. Mullens, would speak only five minutes. It was a great mistake to suppose that missionaries advocated these Institutions as suitable to every part of the country. They are mainly necessary in the Presidency towns. In point of fact, out of 7000 scholars and students taught in the missionary English Schools, 5000 are in Bombay, Madras

and Calcutta. The average number of scholars in cities is 350 to each school: in the mofussil, less than 100. This goes to confirm the opinion that secondary schools are of little value; with such a small number of scholars, how can the education given be of a high kind? The whole discussion turns upon the distinction between primary and secondary schools.

Again, he would not argue for these Institutions, with Mr. Smith, that they are the best means of raising up a native ministry. Without referring to the large number who remain Hindus, if we ask what has become even of our educated converts, we shall find that a very small proportion have become catechists and preachers. And even among the few catechists who have been raised up in English Schools, is it found that many like to go to bazar preaching? In Bengal at least that fruit has been very small. To defend ourselves from infidelity; to prevent the young men, now being educated, from being trained up in error: to offer the gospel fully and freely to them: to introduce it into families, which other plans do not reach, and thus help in preaching it to every creature; these are aims on which this plan may well be based, and which are undeniably accomplished. In the public offices of Calcutta, and scattered over all Bengal, there are now immense numbers of young men, who have thoroughly learned the gospel in this manner. He would add also, what he stated the other day, that during the past eight years fifty-five converts had been baptized from the Institutions in and around Calcutta.

The Rev. T. Gardiner, of the Free Church, said; Many people think that these Institutions should be maintained, because the people are so sunk, that they cannot possibly understand the gospel. Others think that it is a noble thing to engage in the elevation of the people. He considered it right to mention that these were not the reasons which influenced missionaries in maintaining such Institutions and schools.

The Rev. J. Williamson, and the Rev. C. Neale, of the Church Mission, Burdwan, at a subsequent meeting stated, that though the smaller English schools in the country could not give a high education, and therefore could not make deep religious impressions on their scholars, they were yet not wholly useless. They did a certain amount of good, and some of their scholars subsequently turned out well.

Resolution on English Missionary Education.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Conference in reference to this subject:

"That this Conference concur generally in the views expressed by Mr. Ewart on the subject of English Missionary Education. The Institutions specially formed for carrying it

out are not, as some have thought, mere secular schools, intended to elevate the people in the ordinary elements of civilization and knowledge, but thoroughly Christian Institutions, whose aim is to lead all their scholars to the cross of Christ, and whose every department is pervaded by a christian spirit and rendered subordinate to religious ends. On no other condition could missionaries conduct them. They consider that such Institutions find their peculiar sphere in the great cities of India, or in localities, where, with a great demand for English amongst the younger natives, Government colleges and schools or other non-religious schools are established, very deficient in the moral training of that interesting class, whose desire can be turned to the furtherance of the gospel. They consider that, in order to prevent these young men falling into infidel error, and to secure an introduction for the gospel amongst the higher classes of the community, these Institutions ought to be collegiate in their character, and give a complete education, both of the intellectual and moral nature of their students; so as to retain them to an age, when with matured minds and extended knowledge they may appreciate the claims of the gospel. They consider also that to prevent the more secular branches of education from getting into excess, they should be guarded with jealous care; and that to preserve their missionary character entire, one or more missionaries should not only superintend, but personally engage in conducting them. They consider also that as the value of these Institutions is directly connected with the maturity of their scholars' minds, the inferior schools, in which but a smattering of English is received, and which the scholars leave while but young and ill-educated, are for missionary ends of comparatively little use. They consider that this plan of proclaiming the gospel has spread the knowledge of it extensively among the educated, and introduced it into respectable families not otherwise easily accessible to its influence; has prevented greatly the spread of infidelity among the young: has greatly diminished the power of the Hindu

priesthood and of caste; and also led in not a few instances to the actual conversion of souls."

The Conference closed at four o'clock, with prayer by the Chairman.

Thursday, Sept. 6th.

The Conference again met for business at ten o'clock, the Rev. James Ogilvie, in the chair. Present 42 members and 8 visitors.

After singing, the Rev. E. Stuart offered prayer. The minutes of the proceedings of Wednesday's meetings were then read, and, with various amendments, confirmed.

The Rev. F. Schurr, of the Church Mission in Krishnaghur, at the request of the Chairman, then read the following paper, prepared for the Conference, on the Influence exerted by the Indigo Planters, on the progress of the gospel.

On the Influence of the system of Indigo-Planting on the spread of Christianity.—By the Rev. F. Schurr.

In treating this difficult and delicate subject, I propose to go beyond the range of our native christian community, and refer to the peasantry in general. As our christian ryots in Krishnaghur are on the whole suffering less than others, I shall describe those evils of which the majority of ryots complain; evils which arise from the Zemindary system, the Indigo cultivation and the state of the Mofussil Police. I am of course dealing not with *individuals*, but with *systems*.

I. Foremost appear to be those evils, which arise out of the peculiar protection of private interests, to the detriment of the public at large. Such protection the *Zemindary system* especially enjoys.

The ryots declare themselves most willing to pay a higher rent to Government than the present assessment, if they could but remit it directly to the Collector, without the intervention

of the zemindar; as is done under the ryotwary system in Madras, and by the village communities in the North West Provinces. The zemindar either exacts much more from the ryot, than he pays to Government; or he leases portions of his talook to sub-holders, who again let it to others. In many cases the land passes through several hands, before the ryot obtains it; and each sub-holder taking his profit, the poor ryot has almost invariably to pay several times the amount of the assessment. This system of sub-letting is similar to that which prevailed so extensively in Ireland, and inflicted such deep injury on its peasantry. Rents being thus exorbitantly high, recourse must be had to force, and frequently to torture, in order to collect it. Could the ryot obtain the land at the Government assessment, he could easily pay his rent; yea double that amount would not prove too burdensome. For instance, a man cultivates sixty beeghas; at present the rent alone amounts to 60 Rs.; had he to pay but half this sum, it would not be a grievous burden. But now, the zemindar's peadahs often sit in a ryot's house for days, exacting as their own due 4 as. per day; the poor ryot saves himself by flight; but his wife has frequently to sell her jewels, brass plates, &c. merely to pay the peadah; and at last the man's property is seized and sold, or carried to the zemindar's office to pay the rent. In many cases the man is rendered a pauper. Besides this direct land-tax, there is a host of *indirect* taxes for him to pay.

On all occasions of joy or grief in the zemindar's family, such as weddings, idolatrous festivals, and funeral ceremonies, the ryots have to contribute their share, either in kind or money; in either case the payment exacted is double the nominal amount. The head servants, both of zemindars and planters, exact the same for their own benefit on such occasions. When any of them travel, the bearers employed are either ill-paid, or not paid at all.

Arrears due to the zemindar are often allowed to run on for years on compound interest. When the head of a family

dies, there may be a small debt left, without the knowledge of the nearest relatives, as documents are rarely given, and more rarely preserved. After the debt has increased to a respectable sum, the zemindar seizes the richest of the relatives, and takes from him what he can obtain. If he dreads the interference of a European, he gains his object by a suit in the Moonsiff's court.

The landholders, both Native and European, being almost the only parties who deal with the ryots, the Government officials are more known by name and dread, than as paternal rulers and protectors of the oppressed.

The landholders consider it their prerogative, to settle all kinds of disputes between the ryots. Quarrels, fights, murders, suicides, accidental deaths, and acts of immorality are occasions of a rich harvest to the naib and all his underlings. Heavy fines are inflicted on both the guilty and the innocent, and the native police is speedily silenced either by bribes or threats. It is thus that the naturally inefficient Native Police becomes paralyzed by the mighty landholders, who in fact rule the country.

Should an injured and oppressed ryot dare to seek redress in the magistrate's court, he is sure to be waylaid by the oppressor's people, and carried into a godown, where he may meet his wife and children as prisoners, together with his confiscated goods and cattle. On returning to his village, he may find his former home a heap of ashes; or the site even ploughed over and sown with rice or indigo. Should he be so fortunate as to reach the magistrate, he must spend money upon the amlahs; he must secure hired witnesses; for from dread of the zemindar's or planter's vengeance, his neighbours will not give evidence voluntarily: if he has no money, his case is irretrievably ruined.

The unscrupulous conduct of the landholders' servants is a most aggravated evil. They frequently falsify and forge documents to the injury of the ryot. They never settle any complaint for him without a consideration, nor do the inferior

servants write any account, measure land, or collect the rent, without extorting their own share. From the landholder down to his meanest servant, all extort from the poor unfortunate ryot, who is the only one that is defenceless and can thus be easily robbed.

II. The *planting of Indigo,* in the districts of Nuddea, Jessore and Pubna, is another protected system, where individuals profit by the poverty and misery of tens of thousands.

In these districts, the planters invariably try to obtain zemindary rights, by either purchasing or leasing estates. These obtained, they are the feudal lords of the ryots and their lands. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that on such estates the abovementioned evils are aggravated rather than diminished. If the planter enjoys the friendship of the Civil Servants, he can oppress, imprison and ill-treat the ryots with impunity. By some planters' orders, villages have been plundered and burned, and individuals killed.

The planter holding a talook, considers himself entitled, by his zemindary rights, to force every ryot to sow indigo on any of his lands, and to any amount. The ryots consider it cruelly unjust, that they should be compelled to cultivate on land, for which they themselves pay the rent, a crop which yields them no return, and thus merely to labour for those with whom might is right; they must do this sometimes on land, which belongs to other zemindars, who refuse to lease it for the cultivation of indigo. The ryot who dares to refuse meets with severe punishment; and the zemindar is frequently ruined by either lawsuits or affrays.

In order to have a legal hold on the ryots, advances are made to them, but on most they have to be forced. If once in the factory-book, there is no chance for a ryot to get out of it again; for a constant balance is kept against him, so that even an appeal to the law would not liberate him. I know instances where ryots went with the money in their hands to pay their balances, but their offers were refused.

Indigo, in lower Bengal, does not pay the ryot, and is a

forced cultivation. It has been computed that the money advanced, or otherwise allowed for indigo, barely covers the expense of cultivation to the ryot. Be the produce ever so good, the planter's servants always manage to divide the profit among themselves, and the only loser is the defenceless ryot.

The best land is selected for indigo; frequently the ryots bribe the servants to substitute inferior land. If the cultivation paid them, no such intrigue would be required, for they are wide awake to their own interests; but the indigo not procuring them even the salt for their rice, they are compelled to look out for their subsistence from the other crops they cultivate. On these alone they can rely, and it is their interest to retain their best lands for them. If the rice crop fails, the misery is indescribable. In many parts they have to cultivate half their land for indigo, yet it would be hopeless for them to fall back on the out-turn, in case the rice should fail. In bad rice-seasons, they must have recourse to the mahájan, or money-lender who exacts no less than from 30 to 75 per cent. Even the richest harvest will scarcely cover the debt accumulating by compound interest, and the poor fellow is hunted by the mahájan in the Moonsiff's court, and oppressed by the indigo cultivator, and by these two evils he is frequently crushed.

In many localities they complain also of unfair measurement, both of the land and its produce. This greatly aggravates the evil. If a piece of land measures six beeghas, the ryot has to pay six rupees rent for it; but by the indigo measurer it is but three or four beeghas. The ryot looses therefore in two or three ways. He has to pay the full rent, whilst he receives a smaller advance for indigo, that is, only 6 or 8 Rs. instead of 12; and the land for his own crops is greatly curtailed; for the planter asks, 'How many beeghas does he cultivate?' Answer: Twenty. 'Let him sow six beeghas of indigo.' These nominally six beeghas, however, are equal to ten, so that half his cultivated land is gone. For these ten beeghas he must toil in ploughing, sowing, weeding, cutting

and carrying the produce to the factory, and at the very best, his return is but a fraction.

Besides this, the seasons of sowing and reaping the indigo and rice almost invariably coincide. The ryot of course neglects that crop which yields him least, and never attends to indigo, unless he is forced. But not unfrequently he loses the proper season for his own crops, whilst he is forcibly kept, with bitter feelings, in the indigo fields, and thus he becomes a double loser.

Besides these evils, I might mention that most of the factory expenses fall upon the ryots, that the servants oppress and exact without mercy, and so on: but this may suffice to show, that the helpless and oppressed condition of the ryots calls loudly for sympathy from the philanthropist, and for justice from the Government.

III. The ryots also complain of the inefficient and immoral state of the *Native Police*. This has, however, been so frequently and ably exposed by the press, that I need not say much.

As alluded to above, the native officials are open to bribery and intimidation, and when they can oppress with impunity, they do it most cruelly. Murders, suicides, accidental deaths, dacoities, house-breaking, or the floating of a corpse, are occasions, on which they attend more with the view to exact money from the sufferers, than to punish the offenders.

I am further asked the question: "How do these evils arise?"

Their primary source is, undoubtedly, the corrupt human heart. In Bengal we see, that the people have no sympathy and no pity for each other. Hinduism, with its exclusive system of caste, seems to have stifled all natural feelings of pity and compassion. It is owing to this, I believe, that there is no public spirit, no indignation at wrong done to their neighbour, unless immediately concerned in it, and no commiseration for the poor and oppressed. Their greatest wrongs come from their own countrymen, and by them they are deprived

of many of their social and civil rights. The natives of Bengal are the most selfish people I ever saw, and from envy and jealousy try to ruin each other. They have not the remotest idea of love in the scriptural sense, and do not consider the new commandment, "Love one another," binding on them. If they were united, they could resist many of the existing evils. But I have seen very few natives who were capable of making a sacrifice for the benefit of their neighbour. If an action does not yield them praise or gain, they will do nothing. So long, therefore, as this characteristic is not weakened by the influence of the gospel, so long much good cannot be expected.

Out of this characteristic arises the abuse of the existing laws. Zemindars, planters, and their head servants enjoy too great liberties, and possess too much power for collecting the rent and coercing the ryots. The rates of rent are not defined by law, and the extent of the zemindar's power is not known to the ryots. Many of the laws seem to be unadapted to the present state of the country: for instance, the law punishes a man, who is actively engaged in an affray and is *seen* by witnesses, but the instigator and real author of it escapes without punishment.

The insatiable cupidity of the native underlings is another cause of many evils. They invariably look upon an appointment not as a *duty* to be performed, but as a means of livelihood. Justice is therefore sold to the highest bidder, and the defenceless are trodden under foot, without remorse. There is also great jealousy among the ryots. In order to ingratiate themselves, they frequently give false information about their neighbours, which leads to oppression and injustice.

The low price of Indigo seems to have considerably added to these grievances. At present, either the cultivator or the manufacturer must be a loser; and the former being friendless, the loss falls on him.

The small number of really good men in influential positions seems to be another indirect cause. Were there many holy men scattered over all the country, they would give a

tone of sobriety and justice to the whole community, and check many an evil-doer in his wicked career.

There are some well disposed planters, but they are unable to cope with the misconduct of their servants; and despairing of eradicating the existing evils, they leave things to follow their own course, though reluctantly. But the existence of such men does neither justify, nor much improve the radically evil system.

The third question is: "Where lies the remedy?"

It is difficult to suggest a remedy for a nation whose greatest skill consists in craftiness and cunning, and who pride themselves on their superiority in these unenviable qualities over their more dull European superiors. The only effectual remedy I can suggest, is the one which strikes at the root of all evils, viz. the Gospel. As long as the natives disdain this cordial, so long there is little hope of their improvement. Civilization without the gospel only shifts the scene, but remedies nothing. In their cordial conversion, therefore, to the gospel of Christ, lies the secret of their social and religious liberty and improvement, as well as their elevation among nations; and I believe that missionary efforts in conducting schools on the basis of the gospel, preaching the word of God, and spreading the Bible and religious books, will do more for the emancipation of India, than the best code of laws; for the gospel, if rightly received, is the divine code of laws, written in each believer's heart, and the effectual cause of conformity with the existing civil law. The remedy lies therefore with the natives themselves.

However, as the natives are more dependent than children in respect to improving and elevating themselves, and expect government and others to do every thing *for* them, government should interpose its authority.

1. I believe it to be their duty to appoint a trustworthy Commissioner to inquire into all these evils, and elicit the advice of intelligent ryots for future guidance.

2. The zemindary and planting systems should be limited

in their powers, and the amount of rent and taxation clearly defined by law. In addition, appeal to law should be made practicable for the poorest, by appointing more trustworthy Europeans and Eurasians on the police establishment. Such officers require scarcely any other qualification, than the conviction that in their position they have a duty to perform both to God and man.

3. The ryots ardently wish for the abolition, both of the zemindary and planting systems, and desire government to grant them permission for electing their own munduls (headmen of rural communities) for settling disputes and reporting more serious cases direct to the magistrate, and for collecting and forwarding their rent direct to the Collector. Government need not pay such a man more than a mere consideration for his position and loss of time. The ryots would recommend the most trustworthy of their number, and government would only have to sanction the appointment, and make the man responsible. It strikes me that such a system would be likely to work well, being under the check, as it were, of both government and ryots. They would be willing to pay double the amount of the present assessment, if this important step towards constitutional government was granted to them.

Now, what has all this to do with the evangelization of this country? Very much indeed.

1. The zemindary and planting systems so impoverish the ryots, that they are unable to send their children even to a charity school; for as soon as a boy is five or six years old, he is sent into the fields to tend cattle, either in the service of others, or to save the expense of a servant to his parents. Much less are they able to keep schools at their own expense.

2. The systematic oppression corrupts and barbarizes their minds, and they become slaves to the most dire fatalism. They at last care for nothing but their mere subsistence, miserable though it be; and look upon moral and social improvement as not destined for them, and therefore not even to be desired after: for what is the use of longing for a blessing

you are unable to obtain? They look upon this life as their hell, and live in utter disregard of a future world. Their motto is: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die."

3. The bad example of many Europeans, their desecration of the Lord's-day, their incontinence, and their severity or brutality, embitter their minds against all Europeans. Ryots judge of all Europeans from the planters, who come to this country merely for gain, and after making a fortune, leave it again with no sympathy for, and no more interest in it. It is therefore hard for them to comprehend that the missionary alone should be actuated by higher and holier motives, and it takes a long time, of persevering self-denial on his part, to convince them of his disinterestedness. Not unfrequently have I been reproached by those who knew me not, with being paid by the Company, and preaching the gospel only because I was paid for it. This is also thrown into the teeth of the native preachers whom we employ.

4. They perceive, that many Europeans in government service are not as active on their behalf as they ought to be, and that they might check many evils by increased vigilance and exertion. Active Magistrates are gratefully remembered after many a long year. Many of the Europeans of this country look upon the natives with disdain, and call them "niggers," not remembering, that they are living upon these very "niggers." It thus comes to pass, that the natives have but an indifferent regard for the religion of Europeans, and I have sometimes heard natives say, they did not wish to go to that heaven in which such and such a Planter would be. The ryots generally believe, that the christian religion consists in having no caste, i. e. no self-respect, in eating beef and drinking freely, and in trampling upon the social, political and religious rights of the "niggers."

It is therefore high time for the well-wishers of India to exert themselves on its behalf; the voice of the nation is: "Come and help us!"

Mr. Schurr, at the conclusion of his paper, read the following Statement, drawn up by some of the ryots in Krishnaghur, which describes their grievances in their own words.

Statement of Ryots in the Zillah Nuddea.

We gratefully acknowledge that we enjoy many advantages under the government of the Hon'ble Company; because in many ways the wicked are checked, and the good are protected; but some of the Hon'ble Company's laws not being adapted to promote our welfare, we are reduced to poverty and depth of misery by the conduct of our oppressors; this we will prove in the following statement.

I.—*The Oppression of the Zemindars.*

When either native or English gentlemen take a talook or an izárá, they cannot get into possession without fighting and oppressing the ryots. When obtained, they are like tigers, and gradually devour the substance of the peasants; and the zemindars sometimes fighting with each other, rob their ryots of all things through their lattials, and desist not, until they have killed them. When a zemindar has obtained possession of a village, he sends an ameen, who measuring all the fertile land of the ryots, writes 20 cottahs for 15; and if no bribe is given, he writes even 25 cottahs. Where the Company takes four annas rent, they take five siccas; besides, by indirect taxation for contributions, presents, &c. they take three or four annas more. If any ryot, considering this to be contrary to the Company's established law, refuses to pay the zemindar, he sends piyadas, who forcibly take away his goods; and things worth five rupees are sold for three.

For the purpose of keeping order, and collecting the rent, the zemindars appoint a naeb to each talook, besides a gomasta and piyada to each village; these, by persecuting, abusing and intimidating the ryots, obtain a good share of profit. If the ryots be unwilling to pay these forced bribes, they write false arrears in their names, and beating them,

force their goods from them. Moreover, in order to pay the yearly *salami* (douceur) and daily exactions of the naeb, the gomasta, and the piyadas, the women have even to sell their ornaments; otherwise they have, for fear of their wrath, to flee to another place. Owing to all this oppression, the ryots find it hard to enjoy the fruits of their labour; for their oppressors pitilessly deprive them of all they possess, and throw them into fearful distress. If perchance there be a man of property, he is falsely accused, and under the name of "*fines*" all is taken from him.

The zemindars and their servants force the ryots to labour for them, without remuneration, and if they do not go at once upon their order, they take them by the throat, and abusing them, drag them away. Remaining without food the whole day, on coming home in the evening, there remains nothing but lamentation with their families; for unless they obtain their daily hire, they cannot manage. Alas! whilst the poor ryots are thus fruitlessly labouring for others, they look one to the other, expecting deliverance, but no one has pity on them.

II.—*Injustice in the system of the Indigo Planters.*

Being surrounded by Indigo Planters in this Zillah, the ryots of each village are forced to take advances; if a ryot refuses, lattials are sent, numberless as locusts, and his cattle are impounded and carried to the factory, or the factory's ploughs are sent, and the ryot's recently sown rice is ploughed up, and indigo sown by force; from fear of this, the ryots rather yield to the evil, and take the advances, though with reluctance. When advances are made, the ryots receive two rupees per beegah, but from the time of leaving the factory, to cutting the crop and carrying it to the vats, there is nothing but giving salamis and bribes, and thus all the money goes away. For to the Dewan eight annas have to be given for salami; to the Ameen and Dagiddar eight annas each; to the ticcah Dagiddar four annas; and at the manufacturing time some eight annas must be given to the various servants.

Besides this, if a bullock strays into the indigo, the ryot has with folded hands to pay a fine according to their wishes. If the ryot does not submit to all this, he cannot cultivate any land for the support of his family, nor can he remain in his native place, but must flee from village to village.

Even when there is a full crop on the land, for which the advance was made, the amlahs, at the time of the accounts being made up, manage to pay only a fourth part of what is due; consequently the advance not being balanced, the ryot has to sow again each successive year for the debt carried against him, and he has to sell other crops or produce, in order to pay the rent for this very Indigo ground, otherwise he will be beaten to death; besides, all the labour of the ryots for indigo is lost labour. It is owing to this oppression and fruitless labour, that the ryots are so very poor. We know to a certainty, that for the fertility of the ground, and the industry of the peasantry in Bengal, the latter could rise to opulence, if no one deprived them of the fruit of their labour; and they could with ease pay the government taxes.

Besides this, the planters have also thousands of beegahs of *Nij ábád*, (i. e. their own cultivation) within the borders of each factory. For cultivating this, they send lattials to each village, and bring the ryots with their ploughs and bullocks there without paying them; in like manner they force them to house the Indigo without due remuneration. If a poor man refuses, either because he has to attend to his own work, or because he has nothing to eat, unless he gets his day's hire, he is shamefully abused and beaten and forced to go. Coming home at night, nothing remains for him and his starving family, but lamentation, because without his daily wages they cannot live.

III.—*Oppression of the Bengali Police Officials.*

The Hon'ble Company being desirous of benefiting their subjects, have established various Zillahs, and Thannahs, and Pharis (inferior police stations) and appointed innumerable Bengalis for the punishment of the wicked and protection of

the good, i. e. they have established Sudder Ameens, Seristadars, Nazirs, Peshkars, Ukils, Darogahs and other officers in various places. But if we be permitted to speak the truth, there are many among them who are naturally avaricious; for instead of protecting the subjects, they bestow all their care upon filling their own boxes with money. When a big man injures a poor one in their very presence, even to death, these gentlemen neither investigate nor punish the case; or if they investigate, it is merely for obtaining money, and having received this, they declare even the murderer guiltless. If the zillah Judges, Collectors and Magistrates will kindly look into the daily complaints, from the beginning to the end of the year, they will see how many poor people have complained against planters and zemindars! And even if any did complain, what poor man has ever gained a case? We do not know of one, and the cause is this: *the poor have no money* to bribe the amlahs with; they receive and carry the case of him, who gives most money. Alas! alas!—Another grievance is this, that if a poor man is falsely accused, the chaprasses bind him, and punish him in many ways; but when a big man commits even a heinous crime, they approach gently, stand in a retired corner, and taking money, let him off, and return with a gladdened heart. For these and other causes the poor cannot complain against the great men.

It is owing to the avarice of the aforesaid amlahs, that the oppression of the ryots of this conntry knows no bounds. Just as a hen, whilst sitting upon her young ones, protects them, but the moment she leaves them, the enemy pounces upon and destroys them, so the aforementioned amlahs, if they had any feeling for the ryots, could easily save them, and no one could wrong those helpless people. If the Hon'ble Company therefore will first discipline their own Bengali amlahs, there will be incalculable benefit; and if a poor man has to lodge a complaint, let his case be investigated by a faithful European. In this manner the guilty will be punished, and the poor saved.

IV.—*Prayer of the Ryots to the Hon'ble Company.*

We are the Hon'ble Company's subjects, and we are such gladly. We do not object to their taxation: on the contrary, we give their appointed taxes with willing hearts. However, we scarcely know that the Hon'ble Company is our Ruler, but the zemindars and planters appear to us to be our governors, because they deal with us according to their pleasure, as we have stated above. We prefer therefore this request that we cannot possibly endure the oppression of the zemindars any longer.

Our desire is, that we be no longer subject to the zemindars, that none be any longer put over us, and that we have no longer to pay our rent through them: but being the subjects of the Hon'ble Company, we desire to know them alone, and to be governed by them alone; that we be permitted to pay our rent to them direct. And we agree to pay double the amount of rent they are now drawing from the zemindars.

We also request, that the Hon'ble Company appoint a faithful man, or one whom the ryots recommend out of their own number, to each village, to collect and remit the rent; he would collect the rent gradually, and remit it at the appointed time to the Collector. These men should be authorized to settle little disputes, and report more serious cases to the authorities of the Company.

Further we beg, that the Hon'ble Company will appoint faithful Europeans at the distance of 12 or 14 miles for administering justice, because we do in no wise obtain it from Bengalis.

Further we request, that if the Hon'ble Company desire to obtain proofs of our statement of the zemindars' and planters' oppression, they should secretly appoint some trustworthy Europeans to elicit information from the ryots, but so that the zemindars and planters may not hear of it; otherwise they will in many ways intimidate them, and close their mouths, for they dread the exposure of their faults. May God incline the hearts of the Company graciously to attend to the prayer

of their destitute subjects. May He grant, that the day of deliverance come.

Finally we request, that the Hon'ble Company pass a law to check the oppression of the strong, and to compel their Amlahs to do justice to the poor.

The Rev. J. C. Page, of Burrisal, also read to the Conference the following paper on the subject of—

The Zemindary system and Christianity.

I would beg, before reading the paper which has been hastily prepared for this morning, to remark :—

1. That in respect of the illegal extortions, and the oppression practised by the zemindar, they are in many instances the direct work of his agents, unknown and unsanctioned by him.* We must not therefore conclude that all landlords are alike lawless and blameworthy.

2. That the ryots in Bengal are generally a bad set to deal with. What it is that has reduced them to this sad condition, need not be discussed : suffice it to say, that they very often give a zemindar an amount of trouble and annoyance, which is materially calculated to drive him to take hard measures with them.

3. I must ask again indulgence for departing somewhat from the text given to me. It seemed to me that to enter into a discussion of the "zemindary system," as a system, would only lead us into all those difficulties with which every such vexed question is replete. It will answer our purpose if we consider some of *the relations existing between the Zemindar and his ryot*, and what influence these exercise on the work of missions. To this end, it is proposed to consider :—

I. The power which a zemindar possesses over his ryots.

II. The interest a zemindar holds in his ryots.

III. How the introduction of Christianity must interfere with both this power and this interest.

IV. How the zemindar would oppose the introduction of Christianity.

V. What may be attempted to counteract such a state of things.

I.—*The power which a zemindar possesses over his ryots.*

He is, of course, regarded as the greatest man the ryots have to deal with. In many instances he does not reside upon his estate, or even in the district where his property lies. Still, there are not wanting a number of agents, highly raised above the peasantry, who never omit any mode or means to extol the dignity of their employer. In some cases, he may never have been seen, but there is a terror in his name, and a magnitude in the influence attached to it, which is only increased by his absence. And if he be of high caste, or very wealthy, or related to other influential people, or notorious for being a tyrannical master, or particularly successful in a long process of litigation,—his authority will be the more readily and easily established everywhere. His position, removed as it is so far from that of his dependents, has about it a kind of mysterious influence, which, from the very fact of its not being properly understood, is the less likely to be disputed or resisted. But, in by far the majority of instances, he lives on his estates, or so near them as to be able to inflict on his people very frequent visits. And, then, he seems to engross the attention of all men. His large dwelling, his retinue of servants and attendants, his expenses, his quarrels with his neighbours, the festivals he gives, the pujas he performs,—the very way in which he moves about, and the manner of his address,—are all subjects of continual conversation and discussion in every hut. He becomes the object of all men's fear or respect,—the hero of every tale or rumour which has any importance attached to it; and he is almost universally styled by his ryots, their lord and master, judge and father,—their all. Whatever may be the caste, or education, or proportionate wealth, or position, of any under-tenant, each and all must yield before the absorbing

interest created by the Zemindar. He is in himself the greatest man in his little world.

1. But there is a *substantial* power which the *Law* gives him, and which he never proves backward in exercising. Let me refer to two or three particulars only.

In the first place, the law gives "landholders the power of summoning, and, if necessary, of *compelling*, the attendance of their tenants for the adjustment of their rents, or for any other just purpose, or for measuring any land within their respective estates, which is liable to measurement, under the conditions upon which such land has been leased or held: nor are they required to make any previous application to the Courts of Justice." Now, in my opinion, this seems to be no small degree of power. An arbitrary, unjust, wicked man is at liberty, to drag up before him any one of the hundreds and thousands on his estates, at any time and, in effect, on any pretence; for it is always easy for him to show some "just purpose" which is to be answered by the ryot's appearance. Any ryot, be his respectability, character, age, physical condition, pressing engagements, business, what they may, is liable, at any time, to have his house surrounded, himself and family shut in, and if he venture out, to be seized and carried away, willing or unwilling, debtor or no debtor, rightly or not, to the kutcherry of his landlord. It is true that, if there be any "abuse or unjust exercise" of power, there is an appeal to the Court: but this condition affects very little the question of the existence of such a power, in such a country as this. It almost invariably happens that a man suffers the greatest indignity and wrong, and is unable, or unwilling, or afraid, to complain.

Then there is the law authorizing distraint for rent, generally called by the natives *huftum*. (Reg. VII. of 1799.) The provisions of this law, after having gone through some process of addition and subtraction, seem to be these: If an under-tenant becomes a defaulter for arrears of rent, his property is liable to distraint in the following manner: The

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zemindar serves a notice on the defaulter, stating the amount due, together with his account. This notice is posted up either in his house or elsewhere, as it may be. The zemindar then takes an inventory of his property, and gives notice that it shall be sold. This inventory is sent to a native officer (one of whom is appointed to each pergunnah) called a pergunnah commissioner, requesting that this desirable step be taken. If within five days of this act the tenant do not certify that he will contest his landlord's claim, and if he do not give security binding him so to do, the attachment continues; and, after the lapse of fifteen days, every thing the ryot has of personal property, grain, &c. is sold off at once. Now, it is true that the act called *punjum*, or Reg. V. of 1812, affords the ryot an opportunity of meeting his opponent in any unjust demand;—still it will be easily understood, how he is practically unable to avail himself of any advantages offered to him, when we remember the peculiarities of the country. The person who sues him, takes good care that he is uninformed of the notice. The commissioner, who is invested with such authority, is in no sense the high-minded and mighty official which the mere name indicates. He is generally as accessible to bribery as any subordinate in any thannah might be. And, then, while the zemindar can accomplish his part so summarily, *on the spot*, the ryot has to defend himself by appearing at the Zillah Court, which may be fifty miles off, and incurring all the expenses and delays arising therefrom. I should suppose that the instances in which a punjum case triumphs over a huftum case, are very rare.

Let us take another particular, where the land-holder's power seems really excessive. I believe it is, to this day, allowed (however diverse the opinions on the subject may be) that the purchaser of an estate has the right, after giving certain requisite notices, to enhance the rent of his ryots at discretion. It is true that there are exceptions specified; but none of them will prove of a general or very practical character. Thus any man, on becoming a proprietor by

purchase of an estate, is free to increase his profits manifold, at the expense of many of his ryots. These may be suddenly called to enter into new engagements, pay double or treble their former rents; and taxes may be levied on them, in one way or another, so oppressive and exorbitant, as to leave them but the alternative of absconding altogether, and settling perhaps on a more reasonable landlord's lands.

Again, there is a close connexion between the village chowkeedar (police-man) and the zemindar; and while the latter is allowed to nominate the former, and to see that he is paid for his services,—and so long as the police-man is dependent for all his lands on the landlord, he is in effect, though of course not legally, the zemindar's humble servant. And let us think for a moment of only two results arising from this connexion. Resistance to a chowkeedar is looked on as a serious offence, and it is generally followed by the whole police siding with him. But he looks after every interest of the zemindar. Besides, a chowkeedar-witness is esteemed, most unreasonably, of great importance in any case; but the witness here will of necessity be in favour of his landlord. Thus the thing works.

2. It would be well, however, if this were all the power which the zemindar holds and exercises. One would suppose that the law had already armed him sufficiently, and left him a wide range to do much as he liked in the treatment of the peasantry around him. But he himself thinks differently. Let us just look at the authority he assumes in *defiance of law.*

In many districts he is, in his own proper person, judge, collector, and magistrate united. His kutcherry is a self-constituted court. Complainants appear in due form, petition in hand, before him. All manner of claims are adjusted by him. All manner of charges are investigated, and decided or dismissed, in regular official style. Offences against customs, caste, or morals perhaps preponderate. Immorality in any family or individual is considered most worthy of immediate and severe scrutiny and adjudication. Whenever anything

againat law, or religion, or morals, can be established, punishment in no wise lingers long behind. It generally consists in fines, often very heavy, and these are at once extorted. Thus it becomes the interest of the zemindar to encourage disputes of every degree, that he may arbitrate and be paid for his services,—and to increase the facilities for committing more serious offences, that he may either be feed to conceal them, or compensated for the dishonor done to his ryots and his estates. It often happens that a transgression of the law is unknown to, and therefore unpunished by, the authorities, because it has boen previously dealt with, and disposed of, by the landlord or his agents. Indeed, there are some large estates where a ryot is considered to have no right whatever to appeal to the officers of Government. Were he bold enough to attempt to do such a thing, he would soon be involved in a double suit; one at home in defending himself, and the other abroad where he might be complainant. And it is not unfrequent for all authority, without exception, to be monopolized by the zemindar. Practically he has more power on his own estate than any one else in the district.

Then, it should be remembered, that the whole strength of a ryot consists in his possessing documents proving his rights. But here a zemindar, in many parts, holds him entirely in his hands. In thousands of cases, there is no pottah granted, giving and defining possession. If it must be allowed, some peculiarity in the wording of it will artfully depreciate its value as evidence. If it be in the hands of the tenant, it is, by some contrivance taken from him, (if this be thought needful) and he has seldom the satisfaction of knowing that he holds a paper, such as will warrant his resisting the encroachments or tyranny of his landlord. The same may be said of the receipts supposed to be granted for rent. In innumerable instances they are not granted at all. But if it be expedient to accede to the importunate wishes of the ryot in this respect, most generally a slip of paper will be put into his hands, containing an acknowledgment of so much received

on account. Nor will it be possible to remedy this important defect, without feeing the writers pretty handsomely. On the other hand, it should be remarked that a *kubuliut,* binding the ryot himself to any conditions of payment, can be always manufactured. Any one may write it; and it has mostly but a *mark* for a signature.

I would proceed to make a few remarks upon—

II.—*The interest that a zemindar holds in his ryots.*

1. There is, very generally, a *religious* interest. If the landlord assume, as he does occasionally, the character of a father and a guide, he naturally enough feels concerned about what religion it is his children profess or embrace. Himself a Hindu, he will wish all about him also to be Hindus. It is some little comfort to him to know, that the thousands that look up to him, are of the same faith. His own religion is honoured by their adhesion to it. He cannot endure the thought of any one losing caste, and thus weakening his influence. The gods he worships must rise in dignity a little, when worshipped by a crowd about him; and he must now and then feel that some part of his creed is upheld by his ryots. For, if a *puja* is to be performed, and that on a scale commensurate with his ambition, much money will be required, —but the ryot can, and must pay, inasmuch as he shares in the worship. If the zemindar would venture on a *pilgrimage,* it is thought but fair that the ryots should participate, indirectly, in the meritorious act, by contributing their mites towards the object. *Funeral rites,* too, now and then take place in the great man's house, for death entereth there also; and here too it is thought reasonable that the ryots show that they are co-religionists, by repaying every thing that must have been spent on such an occasion. Indeed, very often none of these three religious undertakings could, or rather would, be got through, but for the gifts of the ryots. At least, it may be said that by sharing in them, after this disagreeable fashion, they are considered to be good friends to the zemindar, to religion, and to order.

2. But there are other *direct pecuniary gains* which need to be alluded to. For every marriage in the ryot's family his zemindar requires a fee; and when the great man, in his turn, rejoices over such an event in his own house, instead of following the example of his dependents, he receives, rather than bestows, another gift. Nay, he improves upon the example, inasmuch as, on the occasion of the second marriage, (the first being now understood as merely a betrothal) of himself or his child, he receives a second fee. Then, should a child be born in the landlord's house, it is required that some presents be made by his people; and herein the richest cannot escape the demand, nor the poorest avoid giving his little share. And when, some months after, the little heir to wealth and power is considered old enough to have a taste of rice, there is another humble claim preferred by his indulgent father, and it is difficult to resist it. Still further, for every tank that is dug by the ryot, for every large tree he finds it useful or necessary to cut down, some moderate sum is asked. Then, when the zemindar condescends to visit his villages and gladden the inhabitants with a sight of himself, or when the season comes round for feasting on mangoes, or when any pressing work is to be got through in the great house, or any short journey to be performed, or when any fruit or vegetable in the poor man's ground appears very nice or inviting,—on one and all such occasions payment in money, in service, or in kind, must be made. And, again, in some places, where the rice-fields are covered with water a great portion of the year, and this water yields fish, there is actually a charge made for liberty to fish over one's own ground! Besides all this, there are not a few landlords who charge interest on arrears of rent; and all lend out money at such exorbitant rates, that the poor debtors are literally, to their third and fourth generations, in the hands of their rich creditor. Almost all their payments are reckoned for interest, while the original claim presses on them as heavily as ever.

3. We must not omit to mention how deeply the zemin-

dar is interested in the *concealment of crime* amongst his ryots; and this in two ways. First, because any murder, or theft, or other serious offence, becoming known, must bring down the rapacious police upon his estates. Such a visit is, of all things, to be avoided, for it never fails to end in the impoverishing of some families, and in the general spoliation of their neighbours. Now it is true that a zemindar will often come forward, and advance all the money needed himself, and then levy contributions to repay his expenses; and, therefore, it may be thought that he is no loser, and in no way suffers, when any crime oozes out for the information of the authorities. But a reply is close at hand. Whatever the amount be which the police take away, (and they never fail to depart heavily laden,) so much is taken from the ryot, and just so much, in the end, is lost to the zemindar: for the first robber having emptied the traveller's purse, the second is disappointed! And then there is another consideration in operation here. If the police obtain no information of any criminal offence, the only authority who gets this (to him) good news, is the zemindar; and just in proportion to the extent of the crime, will be the payments made to him. He becomes darogah and magistrate in his own person; but reversing the order of trial, he first becomes a magistrate, to try the charge and zealously to prosecute unto conviction the offender,—and then a darogah, to be blinded by money, so as not to see that the defendant by any possibility can be guilty! And so it happens that he has a very important interest in all the religion professed, the money accumulated, and the crime committed, by his ryots.

We shall now consider briefly—

III. *How the introduction of Christianity must interfere with both the power and the interest of the zemindar.*

Whenever the religion of Christ is first made known, or in time takes root in a village, it comes into *direct antagonism* with every thing it meets. It is immediately opposed to—

1. The *power* that rules all things. Itself it possesses

every element of strength. *It opposes might to might.* The greatest man, in its estimation, is not he who is the wealthiest, or best born and bred, but the holiest and the wisest. Abject respect is no longer rendered to him who has so long received it. His word has no longer the force of a royal command. Men begin to inquire as to who it is that should be favoured with such implicit obedience? In time the *christian teacher* receives attention and reverence; and, by his virtuous conduct and wise instructions, he gains an ascendancy in the minds of many of his hearers; and eventually is looked upon as little, if at all, inferior to the proprietor of the estate.

And, then, too, it is discovered that the law is not solely on the side of the oppressor. Men become so far enlightened as to understand that there are some means at hand, at least to defend themselves. The zemindar finds himself a little oftener put upon his defence. The sword which the magistrate is armed with, is now seen to possess a *double* edge, to cut both ways, and to punish the evil-doer, even though he be such an exalted personage. Old conservative spirits are astounded to hear that such a man, a christian, dares to oppose the Hindu lord, and is prepared to fight him with his own legal weapons! A new and most undesired revelation has been made, and it manifestly proves that weakness and power sometimes go together.

And, as a natural consequence, mere *assumption of power* is at once resisted. The ryot, who has heard of spiritual liberty, will sometimes inquire if there is no temporal liberty too? He will dare to question the position his landlord occupies; and he will be bold enough to think that he is in no wise required to answer for misdemeanors to such an one. In so far as he is taught to be subject to "the powers that be," will he be indifferent to the assumed authority of "the powers that be" NOT.

And, in order that he may be able to resist the tyranny of those above him, such an one will look jealously after his rights. He will be scarcely satisfied to have lands with

no title to them; to pay rent with no written acknowledgment: or to allow that he has given a writing, binding him down to fulfil certain disagreeable conditions, when in truth he has not done so.

2. So, likewise, will the gospel, heard and received, largely and necessarily interfere with the *interests* of the landed proprietor. No man who understands the truth, "as it is in Jesus," will consent to degrade himself, or offend his Saviour, by encouraging or supporting, in any manner, the religious observances of Hinduism—or, if the rare case exist, of Muhammadanism. He will feel it his duty to resist any tax levied on him for the purpose of any pujá, pilgrimage or shráddha. Though willing to give a fair amount of rent for his land, he will be determinately averse from acknowledging, by the donation of a single pice, the slightest sympathy with any act of idolatry. Religious scruples, in his mind, will come into conflict with the religious observances of his zemindar and neighbours.

3. And, then, he will honestly stand forth an opponent of injustice and illegality, whatever the shape they assume, or the degree of wrong they effect. Religion—*our* religion—I suppose it must be admitted, leads a man, as it were instinctively, to cry down what is wrong. The kingdom of Christ is a "*kingdom of righteousness.*" He who enters into it cannot allow, without protest, the existence of that which in any way encroaches upon those rights which affect him so intimately. A native christian's language in such a case will be,—"Why am I to yield to exactions? The government of the land demand no fees for the marriage of my son, or the marriage of my landlord's daughter. Nor does it command me to present an offering to the new-born heir; or celebrate, with gifts, his capability to eat the food of men. It taxes not the zemindar for any excavations or alterations he may make on his land. It expects no nazirs, when its agents or officers pass through the district; nor needs it to be feasted, nor to be carried about at our expense. It has forbidden the taking inter-

est for arrears of rent; and has limited to a small amount that on loans. The Government is my ruler, not the zemindar."

4. And as to the *commission and concealment of crime*, Christianity comes into direct hostile contact with every landholder in the country. *It forbids the existence and toleration of the least crime* in all who embrace it, and therefore, as will be understood, from what has been said above, it cuts off one fruitful source of gain to the zemindar. If every ryot were a christian indeed and in truth, whence, I ask, could be realized the tens of thousands of rupees which are extorted as fines? There would then be no profit from the abounding of sin, as there now is. And yet it is not enough, according to christian morality, that a man do not commit a crime: it is required of him that he do *not conceal* it. Is there a murder, or theft, or dacoity, committed,—is a widow injured, or an unborn babe destroyed,—are wicked offenders harboured, or stolen goods hidden, in a village? A christian man, knowing such a thing, is bound by his principles to reveal it. He becomes informant or witness, and, in so doing, he extensively interferes with the very considerable gains of his landlord.

It is, therefore, apparent, that the introduction of Christianity into any estate held by the enemies of our religion, must necessarily create the most lively opposition. How this opposition would manifest itself, we are perhaps all, more or less, aware. It needs but a little consideration to see how easily a zemindar might bring an amount of power to bear upon the preacher of the gospel, quite sufficient to prevent his entrance upon a field of labour, or obstruct his influence, should he be found there, or destroy the fruits he may have already gathered. I would, nevertheless, by way of suggestion, touch upon—

IV. *The manner in which a zemindar resists the introduction of Christianity.* I would merely hint at the way in which this may be accomplished, leaving you, of better judgments, to fill up a kind of skeleton which, bad as it appears, I am compelled to bring before you.

1. As we have before seen, a zemindar takes strict cognizance of any departure from the laws of caste. Herein he has the sympathy of thousands. Now it is his wisdom, and it is his custom, to represent the preaching of the gospel as a first step towards the destruction of all caste ; and this peculiar feature of the case will, by his orders, be very carefully and earnestly impressed upon all his dependents. "Caste is invaded; what now remains for you?" will be the cry. Thus, all who feel that they have a caste, will rise up against the evangelist. And, be it remembered, that very possibly the lowest caste will be most forward in an act of defence.

2. Should such a piece of policy fail, a more direct step will be taken ; and a prohibition, practically most effective, will be laid on the hearing of the gospel. A decree from the chief kutcherry will go forth, to the effect that every ryot who allows a christian teacher to enter his grounds, or even stands to listen to him anywhere when he is speaking, shall be fined to a very high amount.

3. But preachers have, perhaps it may be thought, other places to preach in, than a ryot's house:—they will attend markets and fairs. Notwithstanding this, the prohibition, if strictly and loudly made, will stand good. And if it fail, severer, and as illegal, measures are resorted to. The preacher is openly and violently expelled from the place where he may be preaching. A crowd surrounds him ; the zemindar's agent raises a cry; a hundred voices hoot at the speaker; many hands are employed in pushing him; and by and bye many clods of earth, and bricks, if they can be had, follow him in his exit from the dangerous place.

4. Allow, however, this much, that the preached word has been heard by a few attentive villagers. There is something reasonable in it, in their estimation. They like the preacher's manner; and perhaps they are at once attracted towards him. They visit him, not unfrequently at night. They get more instruction: and, by and bye, waxing bolder every day, they startle their whole neighbourhood, and arouse

even to fury their zemindar, by not only professing sympathy with the christian teachers, but also declaring themselves to be of the same faith. No sooner is it known that they have eaten with christians, than a storm of wrath bursts over their heads. They are seized, dragged before their lord and master, beaten, taunted, threatened,—and ordered to turn back to Hinduism. If they remain obstinate, their houses are knocked down, or their property appropriated by others, or such an amount of ill-will is created against them, that, few and scattered as they are, unless supported by sincere and powerful friends elsewhere, they must either flee from the place, abandoning their all,—or they must allow the zemindar the opportunity of driving them away.

5. But allow that every such opposition has been patiently and perseveringly overcome, and that Christianity has taken root in one or more villages. A christian community is formed; and through the grace of God a small church is established. This success ought not to make us think that we have triumphed over the enmity of the zemindar. All our difficulties begin again, in the way of defending our people. Very probably, the first thing the landlord will do, will be to use every advantage the law gives him to harass the little flock: and they, unprepared for such a course, will find themselves called upon to show title deeds and receipts, and adduce one or another kind of evidence, to support their right to the fields they have so long cultivated, or to the ground on which their dwellings stand. They will be summoned here and there, day after day,—and, wearied and worried, they will have only *entered* on their troubles. False complaints will be got up against them. Their gomastas will sue them for rent which was long ago paid. Their neighbours will prepare a charge of theft or plunder, or something worse, against them. Money and falsehood will be used to the utmost; and, poor people, before many weeks are out, if left to themselves, they will be almost compelled to beg for mercy from the unmerciful landlord, or come to most unreasonable terms to escape his vengeance.

6. Still, it is possible, and, as we advance in our work, each day more so, that—what with increased knowledge and courage, unity among brethren, and the advice and assistance of the missionary,—the zemindar may find himself pretty nearly matched, when he resorts to the law as his only weapon, whereby he would injure and oppress his christian ryots, and his only means of seeking and accomplishing their ejectment. Should he be two or three times foiled, he will certainly push on to adopt bolder measures. He will take counsel of the petty police in his neighbourhood; bribe them into making a kind of compact with him, the conditions of which will be to allow him to do pretty much as he purposes,—and then, he will, at one sweep, remove every christian family from his estate. He will anticipate a long lawsuit, by becoming, through his ryots, the first complainant; and after that, he will sit down, determined to lengthen out and complicate each case as much as possible, in the hope that something, somewhere, sometime, may turn out to his advantage; and he, the oppressor, by some freak of men, or some change of circumstances, succeed eventually in imprisoning the oppressed, and himself escape unscathed.

Finally, it is necessary to refer to—

V. *What may be attempted to counteract such a state of things.* And here, again, I would beg merely to *suggest* two or three remedies of a strictly available character.

1. We should never send preachers, nor go ourselves, to unfavourable districts, where the zemindars may resort to force to expel the evangelist, without being attended by a few christian witnesses; otherwise, means might be found for turning the tables on us.

2. We might form a kind of *Defence Society*, whose object it shall be, to protect the interests of every man who is persecuted for conscience sake. If such a society were to be, in only a few instances, manifestly successful, it would not have occasion to take up very many cases.

3. We might take steps to enlighten the ryots generally

on the subject of their rights; and show them the use of those laws on which they could safely fall back, in order to defend themselves.

4. It would be well, too, whenever we find a man desirous of joining the christian community, to ascertain how his pottahs and receipts stand; and, if possible, put him in the way first of securing one good receipt for rent, before he comes to be at issue with his landlord. At the same time, whenever a profession of Christianity is made, an inventory of all the ryot possesses should be, without delay, taken, in the presence of the chowkeedar of the village and several witnesses.

5. And, I think, we might continue to agitate the subject of the ryot's condition, and his relations to the zemindar, so as eventually, and possibly before long, to obtain for him some consideration, redress, and justice, from those in high authority, who under Divine Providence, alone can help either us or him.

Thursday Afternoon.

After a short adjournment at one o'clock, the Conference resumed: after singing, prayer was offered by the Rev. T. Sandys. The following discussion then took place respecting the papers read:

The Rev. W. H. Hill thought that the subject under consideration was very difficult; and hitherto we have heard only one side of the story; in fairness we ought to hear both sides. He knows little of the indigo-planters in the Krishnaghur district; but wherever he has gone, he has invariably received from the planters all the assistance they could render him. Perhaps the planters are generally ignorant of the language, and do not fully understand the cases brought before them. The great evil complained of, as stated in the ryots' paper, is that the zemindars and planters usurp the authority of the government. Now, may not this be done, and ryots' disputes decided thus privately, in order to save expense? He was not the advocate of the planters: but he conversed lately with a zemindar, who told him that indigo is not properly a forced cultivation. The objection to the cultivation on the part of the ryots is, that it is an innovation, and that it requires attention at the instant. Is it to

be expected that a planter, having let out his land to be cultivated, should be content to allow the ryots to leave it uncultivated? The planter said that indigo will pay very well, if properly cultivated. But the people give more attention to the rice. With regard to the zemindars, the paper of Mr. Page has only shewn the abuse of the system, without shewing that the system itself is bad. The great evil is in the Bengali character. The underlings always abuse their trust. If the people would stand up for their rights, the things complained of could not be done. He has almost invariably heard good reports of those planters over whose estates he has had occasion to pass. On these things we ought to get facts.

The Rev. J. Wenger wished to say only two or three words. If zemindars and indigo-planters were good men, the system would work well enough, but the zemindars generally are cruel tyrants. They, as well as indigo-planters, are perfectly able to plead their own cause. They have their own associations; they make use of the public press, and send memorials to government and to parliament: but who is to plead for the ryot? He has no friend but the missionary. He has long been convinced that the zemindary system, though not so immoral a system as slavery, is as great a hindrance to the gospel.

The Rev. C. H. Blumhardt of Krishnaghur has seen much of the working of the system. The ryot is always the loser. Generally he has two kinds of fields, rice and indigo. Even if he cultivate the rice first, he is no gainer. When the season comes, he must produce a certain number of bundles of indigo. If he brings too few, the planter loses nothing; but the ryot does, as he is paid accordingly. In favourable seasons the underlings get his profits: in a bad season the ryot does not get paid his expenses. There is much oppression by planters in seizing their ploughs and bullocks. Facts are facts. Some time ago a complaint was made to him of a false measurement of the land in a village about ten miles from Krishnaghur. The ryots said they could not remain in the village. Mr. B. went and spoke to the man in whose hands the land was, and said that if the evil was not remedied, he must complain to the judge. The man then imprisoned several people for complaining to the missionary. Three times he had to see him; but ultimately he allowed the proper measurement. He could mention many facts. It is quite true that the planters are generally very kind and hospitable; but they cannot shut their eyes to the enormities that are practised under the system.

The Rev. C. Kruckeberg stated some facts that had come under his own observation, in which the people even expressed a hope that the Santals would come and help them. In many cases much more than the

legitimate rent is taken. The planters have many difficulties. But it is a *fact* that ryots are *compelled* to sow indigo.

The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert stated that he had been appointed Convener of a Committee of the Calcutta Missionary Conference on this very question. He would propose that as many cases as possible, well authenticated, should be brought before the public. This might produce a great effect on public feeling, such as has been produced by Uncle Tom's Cabin. Let such a statement be sent home and introduced into Parliament.

He has lived in an indigo factory for twelve months in the Krishnaghur district. He has found the planters most hospitable and kind: but all that he saw gave him the conviction that the system is a forced system, and is stained with oppression and cruelty. On the other side the planters have their replies. They say: We have the worst class of people to deal with; we must fight them with their own weapons, which include lying, chicanery and deceit of every kind. The underlings say: We must do what we are required to do: many men of good principles, and many religious men have engaged in it. The headmen say; What else can we do? We must cultivate indigo, and we cannot do so, unless we do it in this way. Again, many of the younger men really do not know all that is going on, and all that is done in their name. The ryot never makes any thing of his crop. If he has too many bundles of indigo, the sircar quietly puts some of them to his own credit. He has never heard but of one thoroughly christian man remaining in it; but he was ruined.

It was then moved by Mr. Cuthbert, seconded by Mr. Mullens, and unanimously RESOLVED: THAT the questions brought up in the papers now read by the Rev. Messrs. Schurr and Page, be referred for consideration to the Committee appointed, on the Indigo cultivation, by the Calcutta Missionary Conference; with the request that they will kindly endeavour to compile information and report upon it as early as possible.

It was also resolved, on the motion of Dr. Boaz and Mr. Kruckeberg: THAT the formation of a Society to defend the civil rights of native christians and other oppressed persons is desirable.

The Conference closed with prayer by the Chairman.

FRIDAY MORNING, SEPT. 7TH.

The Conference met for prayer at half-past seven:

The Rev. DR. BOAZ presiding.

The devotions were led by the Rev. Messrs. Herdman, chaplain of the Scotch Kirk, Calcutta; J. Johannes, Baptist Mission, Chittagong; W. H. Hill, London Mission, Calcutta; J. Anderson, Established Church of Scotland, Calcutta; and W. C. Fyfe, Free Church Mission, Chinsurah.

After breakfasting together in the large Room of the Town Hall, the missionaries met again for business at ten o'clock:

The Rev. J. WENGER in the Chair.

Present 46 members: and six visitors.

1. After singing, and prayer by the Rev. Lál Behári De, the minutes of Thursday's meetings were read, and, with a few verbal amendments, were confirmed.

2. The Rev. C. H. Dall, a missionary of the American Unitarian Association, recently arrived in Calcutta, having asked whether he was permitted, as a Protestant missionary, to sit and vote in this Conference, it was resolved: THAT, considering the vital differences between the members of this Conference and Mr. Dall, respecting the great evangelical doctrines of the word of God, he cannot be reckoned as a member; and that on this account, being uninvited, his presence here is an unwarrantable intrusion.

3. At the request of the Chairman, E. B. UNDERHILL, Esq. then read the paper which he had kindly prepared on the following subject.

ON IMPROVEMENTS DESIRED IN MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA.

It is proposed to lay before the Conference a brief answer to the following queries: "What are the views entertained of the present position of missionary work in India, by the Committees and Directors of the Societies in England and America? And what are the improvements they desire to see introduced therein?"

It is now a well established fact that of late years a considerable change has been operating in the minds of friends of missions, and questions raised, which it has been attempted to solve by the personal visitation of a delegation from the Parent Societies in conference with the missionaries engaged. Year after year the funds of societies have become increasingly absorbed in the mere holding of the ground taken, while in no case has there been the opportunity for extension by the relinquishment of completed work, and but little from an increase of their means. It seems to be as little within the reach of missionary societies, as it is certainly not the end at which they aim, to maintain not merely a suitable and efficient evangelizing agency, but also the congregations which may spring up in its train, with all their apparatus of instruction for every age. At the present time a very large proportion of the funds of missionary institutions is employed, not in making new conquests from the realms of darkness, not in planting on new fields the banners of salvation; but in supplying old stations, in keeping ground long occupied, but not yet deemed fit to be left to the operations of those means of grace which spring up in the bosom of every christian community. In no part of the mission church in India, has there been a development of christian zeal and liberality, to lessen, in any measure, the burden of missionary societies, or to supplement with its labours their efforts to extend the kingdom of our Lord. The care of all the churches, as well as that chief object of their anxiety, the care of the perishing heathen, has to be borne by the same funds and the same men. It is scarcely necessary to remark how largely this absorption of means in old work, limits the evangelizing agencies at our command, and puts off to a very indefinite period the time when all India shall be traversed by the messengers of peace.

It is then sought to be known by the directors of missionary societies, whether under God's blessing the present agency cannot be made more extensively available, and the christian energies of the native churches be brought into

active play, both for their own growth in grace and the benefit of their perishing fellow-countrymen.

1. In the *first* place, it is supposed to be probable that the missionary character is in some measure lost in the numerous avocations of present missionary life. A missionary's life in many cases has too often ceased to be such, after the first years of his residence in India, and the early successes which God may have given him. Converts have gathered at his feet and, like children, have clung to him for protection and aid, for instruction and guidance. Schools have been instituted. These require incessant visitation. He must be prepared for, and at home, to preside at the regularly returning days and hours for the worship of his, perhaps small, but interesting christian congregation. Then the sick have to be visited, cases of distress to be investigated, advice given to assiduous applicants, and all the affairs, both temporal and spiritual, of his little flock, have to be carefully attended to. Thus he has left, if not too fatigued to embrace them, but few and very occasional opportunities to convey in a wider circle the good news of which he is the bearer. The missionary is almost lost in the pastor. His stated work absorbs all his energies and time.

The friends of missions at home have hence come to doubt the propriety of the missionary pastorate. They observe that the first missionaries, the apostles, speedily transferred the pastoral duties to persons chosen for the purpose from among their converts; that, however dear the converts were to them, and however much the converts longed to retain them in their midst, they hasted away "to the regions beyond," affectionately commending them to God and the word of his grace, which was able to build them up, and to perfect them in his ways. Some such course, it is presumed, might be followed in modern missionary enterprise. A few brief years should suffice for the missionary to remain among the same people and labour on the same spot, his aim being, at the earliest practicable moment, without unnecessary let or hindrance, to carry the glad tidings of salvation to "every creature." Missionary

societies are therefore inclined to ask of their missionary brethren, a constant, vigorous, and wide-spread system of oral communication of the gospel, and to emancipate them from all local ties, that they may be free to go everywhere preaching the word.

Much controversy has arisen, under this head, as to the value of schools as an instrument in the missionary's hands for the evangelization of a country. I do not propose to touch the discussion here, more than to say that a general dissatisfaction seems to exist in all missionary bodies as to the results hitherto won by education for the gospel; and with some it has resulted in a settled purpose to reduce into a much more subordinate position their scholastic operations. Wisely or unwisely, they think they cannot safely depart from the direct command of the Lord—to preach; to reach in the most direct, the simplest, the most effective way, every perishing sinner; to set before him with all the pathos of the human voice, and the eloquence of the human eye, and the warm passionate utterances of a heart on fire with the theme, the love of Christ and God. The instructions of the deputations they have sent will, I doubt not, be found with entire unanimity to say, "See how far the oral preaching of the gospel is the leading object and work of the missions; urge upon the attention of the brethren the paramount duty of preaching the gospel, and of imparting to the people, by *vivâ voce* communications, a knowledge of salvation."

2. The formation and settlement of a native ministry over distinct native churches and congregations, is the second grave question on which the thoughts of the friends of missions turn. Nearly two generations of converts have passed away, since the blessing of God was first poured out on the hearts of many, and the first native church was formed. Several thousands have put on Christ, in a manner which gives credible testimony to their sincerity and to the reality of the work. From amongst them have appeared not a few men of eminence for their piety and gifts, who have wrought as successful

evangelists, and ended their course with joy. The committees and directors of missionary societies inquire, Why are not such men pastors of the native churches? Why do they not release the missionary from the local cares which fill his hands? They have not been able to appreciate the value of the answers which have been given in reply, nor to understand the long delay in the organization of native christian congregations under officers of their own selection. Much has been said of the feebleness of the piety of the native christians, of the weakness of their character, of their want of knowledge, and other things incident to an early stage of christian life. But it does not appear that even under the best European superintendence there is much improvement in these respects. The European missionary at the end of years makes the same complaints as at the beginning; and finds the people as little prepared to rely upon themselves or on one another, as on the day he took charge of them. If they were not fit to go alone when he began to be their instructor, they seem as little prepared to walk after years of anxious and most assiduous toil. Now there is no doubt felt as to the truthfulness of these representations of serious deficiencies in the christian character of native converts. It may be that closer contact gives them a greater magnitude in the eye of the missionary than they appear to possess to those who are thousands of miles away. But, beyond question, there are very large defects to be overcome, if the native church is to become self-reliant, zealous, active in Christ's cause, under the leadership of an indigenous ministry. It is, however, thought that perhaps some of these defects may be owing to the presence of the European missionary; that with a native pastorate there would be greater freedom of growth, more expansion of mind, more active personal interest in the welfare of the body, and likewise of the world around. The habit of dependence is itself a cause and perpetuator of weakness. While the dependent relation lasts between the missionary and his people, he will look in vain for the development of a self-reliant energy. Without, then,

depreciating the greatness of the difficulties in the way of the formation of a native pastorate over native churches, or undervaluing the labours of the missionary as pastor, it seems to the directors and committees of missionary societies to be generally the wiser course to establish, at the earliest practicable moment, distinct congregations, each having its own native minister regularly appointed thereto,—in this respect, as in the former, following closely in apostolic steps.

There are some other topics which have more or less occupied the attention of the friends of missions at home; but they are, in all respects, subordinate to the two important subjects already referred to, or are most closely bound up therewith. It will suffice just briefly to mention a few of them. It has been held by some that the school, or education generally, is a necessary pioneer to the gospel, and that without his school, the missionary is nearly useless; while others think that the schools of missionary societies should be confined to the children of converts. Again, should the instruction given in missionary schools be through the medium of their mother-tongue, or of the English, the language of their instructors and rulers? The formation of large collegiate institutions is urged by many as likely to effect vast changes in the mental habits of the more influential classes of society, and eventually in favour of their reception of the truth. It is also a question of no slight practical interest, how far the native converts should look to foreign aid for the erection of their houses of worship, school-houses and the support of their ministry. These and some few similar topics will doubtless be found to have been the subjects to which recent deputations have given their attention, for the practical solution of which they have sought to confer with their brethren, labouring in the field. It was thought that by such personal visits results could be more rapidly and harmoniously attained, objections be more readily encountered, and difficulties removed, than by correspondence, however accurately expressed and well conceived.

It is a satisfaction to me to feel that in the most important respects, the views of friends of missions at home are fully responded to by their brethren in the mission-field, and that every day increasing efforts are being made to "preach Christ and Him crucified" to the wretched and deceived inhabitants of this land. May their desire, to see a body of native churches with an indigenous ministry, be also speedily realized; churches that shall become sources of light and life to the myriads from whose dark bosom God, in His infinite mercy, hath called them forth to be his praise and the witnesses of his love.

The Rev. G. G. CUTHBERT said, he knew that the Church Missionary Society's Committee very much agree with the views which Mr. Underhill had just given. They feel, like others, that they have not funds for their work; and they desire to make them go as far as possible. They want the native churches to appoint and to support their own native pastors, while missionaries are left to be preachers to the heathen. They also feel their grants a heavy burden. Cannot native christians pay for their schools, especially for the partial support of their children in boarding schools?

The Rev. A. F. LACROIX agreed that the gospel will never take root in this country as long as the christians are treated as hot-house plants. Every one who loves the country and the work will grieve over the want of self-dependence. Could we not find some to take charge of the churches, who correspond in attainments and circumstances with those whom the apostles appointed? Hitherto very few of our native preachers have commanded the general respect of the christian community, amongst whom there are many jealousies. If we can find men fit to be pastors of the churches, then the sooner they are ordained, the better.

It was unanimously resolved: THAT the thanks of the Conference be presented to Mr. Underhill for the statement he has kindly drawn up, especially considering the circumstances of anxiety, in which he has been just placed: THAT the Calcutta Missionary Conference be requested to take its various questions into consideration, and publish the result in the religious periodicals; and THAT the mofussil missionaries be requested to communicate their views in writing, in order to secure to these important topics as full consideration as they deserve.

4.—The Rev. J. Long, of the Church Mission, Calcutta, then read the following Paper—

On Vernacular Christian Literature.

1. Its Importance.

The formation of a Christian Vernacular Literature is an object of unspeakably great importance at the present time, when plans are being organised by the Bengal Government for imparting a *secular* vernacular education to the thirty-five millions of mental serfs through the length and breadth of Bengal who speak the Bengali language, and for communicating a higher tone of secular instruction to the 80,000 vernacular schools which already exist and have existed for ages in Bengal and Behar. Government has lately issued a notification, declaring the ability to read and write his own vernacular language a *sine qua non* for every person appointed to a situation, the monthly salary of which is over six rupees, and ordering the preference to be given to those who can read and write over those who cannot, for all offices, however small the salary. There are thirty-five millions of people knowing *only* Bengali, whose views of Christianity can be gained *only* through the medium of their mother-tongue. The mind of the masses is awaking from its torpor, and the activity of the vernacular press is one of its signs. While in 1821 it was reckoned a great phenomenon by the editor of the quarterly *Friend* of *India* that 20,000 volumes were printed and sold among the natives within the previous ten years ; we have the fact that in 1853, according to a return of mine which the Government are now printing, 418,275 books and pamphlets in Bengali issued from the *native* presses in Calcutta, the greater part of which were *sold* within the year,—while since the commencement of this century more than 1,600 works have been printed in Bengali, either original compositions, or translations from the Sanskrit, English or Persian. These have had a circulation of probably not less than twenty million copies. Over all these how little influence have Christians had! Our English

teaching, valuable as it is for a certain *class*, has had little effect on the *national literature;* it has been like an attempt to blend oil and water.

If it is important to raise the mental status of our native christian readers and catechists who know no English, then it is important to supply them with mental food suited to their condition. We have a fine example of what can be done in this respect, in Neff's labours among the barbarous peasants of the High Alps. Hinduism supplies plenty of pabulum for its votaries in its multiplied accounts of Krishna and Durga, in the form of popular songs, poetic descriptions, tales and pictorial illustrations. The Americans are beginning a movement which is much sympathized with in England, viz. that the teaching of native village churches should devolve on natives, and that the European should exercise the office of superintendent: the more necessary is it then, that those teachers should be supplied with useful books.

If idleness be the mother of vice, and an unoccupied mind lead to various evils, how urgent is it to supply suitable mental food. No one conversant with a settlement of native Christians or a native village, can fail to see how important it would be to foster a taste for reading. But then, the people must have books suited to call forth their sympathies and adapted to their condition. No one that has witnessed, as I myself have, a congregation of 200 men and 150 women, listening with the deepest attention to a recitation of the life of Rama, but must feel how much we need a christian literature adapted to the national taste. The Legislative Council is about to pass a severe law for the suppression of obscene books and pictures,* but other measures must be taken to give a taste for useful reading. We must apply to it Dr. Chalmers's "principle of the expulsive power of a new affection."

* Inflicting three months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 Rs. for the sale of them. Already good effects have resulted: three book sellers have been prosecuted in the Supreme Court for selling three obscene books, value 4 annas each, but fines and costs of court have involved them in an expense of 1300 Rs. and one man has since burned 500 copies of his.

The government is at last awaking to a sense of its duty, that the masses must be enlightened, finding that, as in the case of the Santals, books are better civilizers than bayonets, the school-master than the hang-man. Whether the missionaries accept the grants in aid or no, government must go on with its mission; but as the line of the government is *secular* education, it remains to be seen whether missionaries will not use the press to give a religious tone to education. Where the tongue cannot act, the printer may; knowledge is power; will religious men, by folding up their hands, have this power turned against them?

I published lately a descriptive catalogue of Bengali works. The following is an analysis of the subjects on which the books are written. It may be a reply to those who would cast aside all Bengali books with the sobriquet applied of "filthy trash."

Educational.—Arithmetics, 5; Dictionaries and Vocabularies, 56; Ethics and Moral Tales, 67; Geographies and Maps, 26; Geometry and Mensuration, 3; Grammar, 29; Historical and Biographical, 47; Medical, 24; Mental Philosophy, 3; Natural History, 24; Natural Philosophy, 18; Political Economy, 1; School system, 1; Spelling, 35; Readers, 32. Total, 369.

Literary, Miscellaneous.—Law, 88; Almanacs, 20; Magazines, 44; Newspapers, 78; Poetry, 21; Popular Songs, 38; Tales, 50; Miscellaneous, 114. Total, 450.

Theological.—Serampore Tracts, 85; Tract's Society Tracts, 77; Christian books, 53; Musalman Bengali, 40; Pauranic, 98; Sivite, 35; Vaishnav, 80; Vedantic, 39. Total, 507. Making with other works a grand total of more than 1400.

2. Obstacles.

The small number of Natives that can read intelligently calls urgently for strenuous exertions on behalf of vernacular schools. In 1835 Mr. Adam, the Commissioner on education, reported to Government that the intellectual condition of the masses in Bengal was as benighted as

that of the masses in Russia ;* and since that time matters have become worse : vernacular education has declined, and missionaries have generally swam with the stream. English schools, however useful to the classes attending them, have had little influence on the masses. Even of the books which issue from the Calcutta presses, very few have a circulation of more than twenty miles beyond Calcutta, with the exception of Almanacs, portions of the Ramayan or the Mahabharat ; there is scarcely any reading whatever : midnight darkness, as dense as it was six centuries ago, envelops the masses.

The knowledge of reading acquired in the 80,000 common vernacular schools is not enough to enable a native to read the Bible intelligently. The Bible is a book which, with a style necessarily elevated, as adapted to a high subject, teems with references to the geography of the East,—to the histories of Babylon, Rome, and Egypt,—to Jewish customs. Now are there in Bengal, independently of missionary vernacular schools, 200 vernacular schools, where natives receive any instruction in history or geography ? What can we expect as an encouragement from vernacular literature, when in addition to missionaries connected with secondary English schools, being hindered thereby from knowing much of the vernacular, few of those in connection with government schools know any thing of it ?

All instruction, religious or otherwise, being conveyed in English schools by missionaries generally through the English, is a barrier to the formation of a vernacular literature, both on the part of pupils and teachers. How often do we find young men well up in English utterly unable to communicate useful or religious knowledge in their own language ! Aye and even divinity students who cannot expound Scripture in-

* The same year that Peter the Great founded St. Petersburgh the English established themselves in Calcutta ; but while the mighty monarch of the Russians did not deem their having translations of works made from foreign languages for his people, unworthy his care, it is only after the lapse of 100 years settlement in this country, that the Indian Government have acknowledged their duty in this respect.

telligently! And with respect to a native agency, itwould be very desirable in this point of view, that their religious instruction especially should be in their own language; thus familiarising them with theological terms, and tending to enrich the language by the introduction of new ideas.

To the objection, how are missionaries to gain that knowledge of the language so as to teach through it? we would say, As one step, let the first year of every missionary who comes to this country, be devoted entirely to the acquisition of the language. If Government allows civilians time for that object, surely missionary societies ought to act similarly. And certainly the way in which Germans who come to this country, having learned English when adults, yet learn soon to preach, teach, write and speechify in it, sets us an example; how few English missionaries wield the Bengali with the same power as many Germans do the English language.

The chief educational strength of missions is given to teaching through English, while vernacular education is left to random efforts: though the working of it requires as high if not a higher order of mind than that of English schools. We require persons, who may devote their entire time to the preparation of vernacular school-books and examining schools. But except in a few cases, the work has been left in the hands of missionaries, overwhelmed with all sorts of interruptions, who resemble Moliere's *Médecin malgré lui*, and who have to be Jack of all trades.

It is to be feared that missionaries generally have not a thorough knowledge of the language. I mean by this, an acquaintance with the idioms and popular words of the language, so as to read the standard works of the language with facility. Our educated native converts, as a class, generally shew little disposition to co-operate in the work of diffusing Christianity through their own language by the press. Too often they have the same contempt as the brahmans have for the *profanum vulgus*. What have the converts from English schools done towards enriching a native christian literature? As

all their instruction has been conveyed through the medium of English, they almost forget the use of their own language, as an instrument of conveying knowledge: it is regarded by them in many cases almost as a patois. The result of the experience of the American missionaries for thirty-five years in Ceylon, bears out this statement. In India, in language, history, antiquities, natural science, it is the European mind that has taken the lead.

Sanskrit, the parent of Bengali and the source to give it elegance, expressiveness and dignity, has been neglected as a missionary instrument. While secular literature has drawn much from Sanskrit, our religious literature has done little in this respect: and a knowledge of Sanskrit as a missionary instrument has been overlooked. Of all the Bengal missionaries, probably not more than two or three know any thing of Sanskrit. Now Sanskrit bears much the same relation to this country, as Greek does to Europe. It is the key to the past of the Hindus, which has such a bearing on the present: it reveals to us the arcana of Hinduism, and gives an insight into those mighty influences which mould the minds and morals of one hundred and thirty millions of people.

I do not say that books and tracts ought not to be given away under special circumstances, but it is to be feared the gratuitous distribution of Scriptures and books has done little to promote either Christianity or the cause of a christian vernacular literature. Independent of the fact, that natives are not likely to value much what has cost them nothing, that with them cheap and nasty are nearly equivalent: we have the result of missionary experience in Agra, Bombay and Madras, where for some time missionaries have come to the decision to *sell* religious works, and have found the experiment work well. The rule of "nothing for nothing" is extending to books as well as education. It is stated of Bombay, "that the tasteful style of tracts and books in Bombay, got up within the last few years, had much to do in securing the large sale of Christian tracts and books by hawkers." Years ago, Mr.

Mather of Mirzapore declared in his report, that as long as religious societies gave away books and tracts, so long there were no prospects of fostering a christian vernacular literature. The money that might be spent in bringing out attractive christian books with illustrations, is now absorbed in supplying demands for tracts at the rate of form 500 to 4000 at a time, in many cases thrown away, as the seed is sown without the soil being dressed—a remark that does not apply to preaching, as in the latter case, only subjects are taken up which are understood—whereas to a people utterly ignorant of history, geography, or the use of a good style, how little intelligent reading can there be of the Scriptures.

At the same time that books should be paid for, the price should be low. We want large editions and small prices. When an edition of 5000 copies of a work is printed, it can be furnished at the rate of 50 8vo. pp. to the anna: this is about the rate at which Sanders, Cones and Co. bring out their Almanac.

3. Encouragements.

The peasantry of this country are justly considered to be an intelligent race, quick to learn; in fact in acuteness of observation and natural intelligence they are far ahead of the English peasantry.

Caste is decaying. Even in 1835, W. Adam remarked as a sign of the times, that many of the lower orders were receiving an elementary education, who in former times would not have dared to look in at the portals of knowledge or investigate the mysteries of A, B, C.

English schools can be worked to more effect in the production of translations; far more attention is given now in them to the cultivation of the vernacular than used to be the case.

The thorough reform which has been introduced into the *Sanskrit* College, by rendering it a literary not a theological institution, and by the introduction of the system of studying Sanskrit on the European model, is giving us a superior class of pandits. The elegant Bengali writings of Ishwar Chandra,

the head of that College, show what may be effected through pandits of taste and general knowledge.

The *Native Press,* though occasionally attacking missionaries, is yet very moderate in its tone, compared to the days of the *Chandriká,* the staunch advocate of widow-burning. We have now and then a growl, but the editors themselves have learned to appreciate the motives of missionaries better; seeing what they are doing for education.

The educated natives are, in various cases, awakening to a sense of shame, that their own beautiful language should have been so neglected by them, and that they should have looked with such indifference on 35 millions who need European knowledge, but have neither means nor opportunity to gain it, except through a vernacular medium. Government also are raising their vernacular standard, and so are mission schools.

The Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and the N .W. P. have shewn every disposition to promote popular enlightenment, though the Government of India has been a drag on them. Mr. Halliday is doing all in his power to promote vernacular education, while Mr. Colvin is treading in Mr. Thomason's steps, and has lately published officially three works on the vernacular press of the N. W. P.

4. Wants.

The Hindus in their own writings shew a great fondness for metaphors and symbols: from the days of Kálidás, who rausacked all nature to furnish him with images, they have exhibited this. The Bible, as an oriental book, is constructed on the same principle, and our Lord taught by parables. But our religious tracts and books generally shew nothing adapted to this taste: they seem to have been written rather amid the fogs of London or the ice of St. Petersburgh,than in a country with the associations of the gorgeous East. Such books as Baxter's Call are for this country little better than waste paper. The oriental mind must be addressed through oriental imagery. The late Lieutenant Governor of the N. W.

P. constructed his system of vernacular education on the principle that the masses were essentially an agricultural race. The same applies to Bengal. Now the imagery and illustrations in our books ought to be drawn from country scenery. In their own popular works, such as *Chánakya's Slokes*, the *Ritu Sanhár*, we see how they carry out that principle. In this respect a volume containing extract from Scripture, giving in a metaphorical dress its ethics, dogmas and histories, would be useful, as also a work compiled from such books as Flavel's Husbandry Spiritualized, and Hervey's Meditations in the Garden.

A *Weekly Newspaper* has long been felt as a desideratum. The Serampore *Darpan* for thirty years occupied a place in this respect which is now vacant, and the native mind, anxious for the τι καινον, has to receive it through the channels of the *Bháskar* or *Chandriká*, whose influence is hostile to Christianity. The native newspapers have a circle of not less than 60,000 readers.

A *monthly Magazine* illustrated, giving subjects on the plan of the Tract Society's monthly volume. In 1820, the London Missionary Society started the *Gospel Magazine* in Calcutta, which promised to be very useful, had it been continued.

Vernacular Libraries, to foster a taste for reading among readers and native Christians, are of great consequence, both to the formation of their character and their usefulness. Government itself has established vernacular libraries in several parts of the country. In America, libraries are considered a necessary appendage to every school.

A *Dictionary of the Bible*, abridged from Kitto's work, would be a valuable repository for native teachers and readers, aye, even for those who have received an English education. The writer of this knows what difficulties a native, that has a fair knowledge of English, encounters, when he comes in contact with our terminology drawn from Latin and Greek sources, and involving almost the study of a new language.

The call for missionaries to engage in this is great, because heathen natives will engage in nothing but the secular part, and christian natives, in many cases, would rather spout

a little English than benefit the Sudra caste. It is long before a brahman, though he be a Christian, can erase from his mind the feelings connected with his belonging to the twice born class. Sir H. Elliot, who knew natives well, declared that patriotism was an exotic in Bengal, and certainly experience seems to confirm this; for while we have had meetings of natives, and societies formed among them, they have been all for *class* interests, increase of salary or position. As for the *peasantry*, who are in a degraded condition equal to that of the slaves of the United States, as described in Uncle Tom's Cabin, where do we see among the educated classes of natives a sympathy for their condition? The educated native generally despises, through ignorance, his own language: his conversation, reading and teaching is all through English, as it was last century through Persian,and six centuries ago through Sanskrit. An essay writer in Calcutta, one of the Dutts, coolly proposes the extirpation of his own language, and that all the mehters and cow-boys in Bengal should only gain knowledge through English, while he applies to his own tongue the epithet of the language of fishermen! What have educated Zemindars done for their ryots? Or, what have the christian converts of our schools done for the diffusion of knowledge among the masses? Therefore it devolves specially on missionaries to take up this subject, to guard that *part of the fortification that is weakest.*

5. Musalmáns.

As no allusion has been made in this Conference to that important class of the population, the Musalmans, seeming to imply that missionary attention had hitherto been directed little to them,—which is much to be regretted, as in straightforwardness and honesty they are much superior to the Bengalis—I would make one allusion to them. They have of late taken very much to the study of Bengali, but still they cannot give up their national attachment to the Persian; and they have, in order to meet the point half way, invented a language half-Persian, half-Bengali, and have published in this dialect, called

Musalman-Bengali, forty-two works, some of them very large, which have gone through many editions, containing tales, accounts of Muhammad, &c. The Bible Society have printed Luke's gospel in that dialect, and are now proceeding with some other portions of Scriptures.

I would conclude these few remarks with the following statement. The Vaishnava sect, which in Bengal has proselyted one-fifth of the population, owes much of its success to the fact that it did not choose a foreign language as the vehicle for propagating its principles, nor limit itself to the select few, but appealed through the vernacular tongue to the masses, and in various ways shewed less respect to high caste than has been the tendency in some missionary bodies. Three hundred years ago the followers of Chaitanya gave us the first Bengali books ever published: hence while Sivite literature, hampered by a learned language, is confined to the few, Vaishnava literature is the property of the many. While Nuddea for four hundred years has supplied Bengal with a class of pandits pre-eminent for their skill in law and logic, it has not furnished one man eminent in Bengali. When examining a class of boys there lately, I found they disdained even to write the Bengali, the *bháshá*, as they called it. There is another body which shame us missionaries in this respect, the *Tatwabodhini Sabhá*, which has produced a series of able works on philosophy and ethics in Bengali, and issues a monthly magazine far superior in ability to any work ever issued by missionaries. At Bombay, natives give lectures in the vernacular on subjects of science and ethics: in Bengal our native converts are either not able or not willing to do much in this respect.

5.—The Rev. B. Geidt, of Burdwan, then introduced the next subject for discussion, viz. that of Vernacular Missionary Schools, by the following paper:

Vernacular Mission Schools at Burdwan.

1. History—Vernacular Education has been carried on in this district since the year 1816. Before the mission was established, Capt. Stewart, supported by friends, opened and maintained sixteen schools in the districts of Burdwan, Beerbhoom and Bancoorah, containing above 1200 pupils. To insure a great attendance, the work was intrusted to able and clever bráhmans with high salaries, amounting in some cases to 30 and 40 Rs. per month. These men knew how to keep on good terms both with their kind master and with the people. Their presence was considered by the villagers as a security that no boy would embrace Christianity. In regard to proficiency, however, it may be mentioned that many of the pupils excelled in the branches in which they were instructed, only of Christianity they would hear nothing. Few books were at that time printed in Bengali, and those which were read in the schools must not contain the name of Jesus. An elderly man who had been instructed in one of them, remarked to me lately, "How much the times have changed in favour of christianity. Formerly our bráhmans received high wages in these schools, yet when we found the name of Jesus in a book, we all ran off. Now teachers receive comparatively little, and the boys read any book without hesitation." A little stir among the people on account of these schools, was not an unfrequent occurrence in those days, but it was soon put down by a few sepoys being sent to the spot to restore peace. Mr. Perowne, one of the first missionaries here, who took so warm an interest in vernacular education, had occasionally six or eight men placed at his disposal to protect him from insult.

Mr. Deerr afterwards took charge of the schools, and carried them on with great vigour and less expense. That indefatigable man would sit down in one of them daily for three or four hours, teaching the rudiments of christianity; and his generous character earned him the good will of the people. They now became more favourably disposed toward the christian

religion. As he, however, could not procure a christian teacher for each of his schools, the work remained to a great extent under the influence and tuition of heathen masters, of whose knowledge of the Bible the following instance may suffice. In explaining the parable of the lost sheep, the bráhman said to his scholars, "In the land of Judea were many sheep, and also many jungles to graze in; now one of the sheep of a rich man who had a hundred, went astray into one of those jungles, and he could by no means recover it. The Son of God, seeing this, came down from heaven to save that lost sheep from destruction. Look!" he continued, "here is a proof of the great love of Jesus, who came on earth for the sake of a single sheep."

Mr. Lincke and the late Mr. Weitbrecht likewise carried on vernacular education, but not to the same extent. Several schools were given up and other missionary operations entered upon. In 1846, the latter had four, which he occasionally visited: an extract from his memoirs will shew the number of scholars, and the books read, in one of these schools.

Burdwan, Jan. 20th, 1846.

1st class, 5 boys, Luke 12 chapters.
2nd ditto, 3 ditto, Genesis 40 chapters.
3rd ditto, 8 ditto, Mark 2 chapters.
4th ditto, 5 ditto, Anecdotes 18 pages.
5th ditto, 6 ditto, Catechism 14 pages.

A little more than a year after my arrival, Mr. W. made over the schools to me. I carried them on at first the same as I found them, until 1849, when the plan of the work, and the pay of the men were changed, new books were introduced, and the number of schools was again increased to eight, which contained about 500 boys. Owing to a deficiency in the society's funds, and other causes, the number at present is only five, which are attended by 280 children.

The 1st school contains 110 pupils.
2nd ditto ditto 90 ditto.
3rd ditto ditto 70 ditto.

4th ditto ditto 56 ditto.
5th ditto ditto 54 ditto.

2. Pay System.—On my taking charge of the work, each school had a sircar on Rs. 4, a hurkaru on 2, and a christian teacher receiving from 6 to 8 Rs. per month. Whether the boys were present or not, the sircar and hurkaru demanded their wages at the end of the month. I made therefore an alteration, and began to pay according to proficiency and the number of children in attendance. Dividing each school into five classes, I gave at the following rate: for each boy in the 1st class, 3 annas a month; 2nd class, 2 annas; 3rd class, 1½ anna; 4th class, 1 anna; 5th class, nothing. The heathen sircar prepares at the commencement of the month a sheet of paper on which the christian teacher has to write daily the number of each class present, and the portions read, affixing his signature. At the end of the month, this account is handed to me, when I pay for the average number. The earnings of the school are divided between the sircar and hurkaru: the former receiving two thirds, and the latter one. This arrangement serves as a check on the heathen masters; the christian teachers are more punctual; and it has a beneficial influence on the schools.

For children in the 5th class I pay nothing, to induce the sircars to bring them on in reading. If they were paid for this class, children of two years would be placed at school. No boy is advanced to a higher class but by me. The younger pupils are partly taught by monitors from among the elder scholars, who take this office of honour in turn.

The native christians receive the same allowance as before: I draw for all the schools a small sum from the C. M. S., besides which every boy who can read, has now to pay one pice a month.

3. Instruction given.—The first class have Bible History of the Old and New Testaments; Geography; Grammar; Natural History; Arithmetic and Writing. The second class read Matthew or Acts; Exposure of Hinduism; Large

Catechism; Arithmetic and Writing. The third class; Life of Abraham or Joseph; Moral Stories; Arithmetic, and Writing. The fourth class read the first small Catechism, and then learn it by heart; this may prove a blessing to them in after years. The fifth class are beginners. The heathen sircar teaches arithmetic, writing and reading. The christian instructs in the Bible; but Maps, Grammar, and Natural History, I am obliged to teach, though one of the teachers can *now* assist me in these branches. Having carried on this branch of missionary work for some years, I will now refer to the difficulties connected with it, and also to the good results achieved.

4. Trials.—One difficulty we have to contend against, is the securing of a large number of boys to attend to a course of instruction for a number of years. The children of the lower orders of the community do not generally avail themselves of the advantage of education offered to them: their position in life, they suppose, does not require the cultivation of their minds. Even when they are induced to enter the schools, their attendance is often irregular. Many of them being destitute, must necessarily resort at an early age to some employment to earn a livelihood.

Our schools for the most part comprise the middling and respectable classes of the rural population, and even their attendance is often for a limited time. Many, as soon as they acquire a tolerable knowledge of arithmetic and writing, leave school to assist their parents and relatives. I am, therefore, obliged constantly to form new classes and go over the same ground again and again.

Another trial is the baneful influence of Hinduism, which acts most injuriously on these youths. Many of them, when they attain the age of fourteen or fifteen, become fickle and indifferent, owing to this pernicious influence of idolatry, obscene books, filthy conversation, and the bad example of those around them. All these are voices to us to go and help them by the grace of God.

Another difficulty connected with this work is the distance of the places. The schools being from two to four miles from the mission, renders the work arduous. It is not an easy task to go four miles, give three or four hours' instruction, answer the questions of the people around, and then return in the burning heat of a tropical sun in April, May, and June; whilst during the rainy season we have not only bad roads, but are often caught in the rain.

Other trials are caused by heathen teachers, who are generally deceitful, and seek to counteract the good impressions made on the children, saying, after we have left, "Do not listen to what these christians tell you; they are paid for it, and must talk of religion." If a boy betrays any sign in favour of christianity, he is immediately shut up, sent away, or some other trick is resorted to, to make him forget it.

Yet we cannot do without these men, they are a necessary evil. No school can be established in a village without them. I tried it, but always failed, and sometimes, when a man is sent away for any fault or gives up his work, the school is broken up; the boys will not attend any more.

5.—Encouragements and Results.—Notwithstanding the difficulties and trials, there is much to encourage us to carry on the work with heart and soul, in the name of the Lord. Vernacular education has already proved a great blessing to many, which richly repays us for our trouble,—and it is to be regretted that hitherto more attention has not been paid to this useful branch of missionary work.

By these schools, the gospel is spread more extensively than by mere preaching. People seeing us, often become familiar and are inclined to listen. I always make it a practice to speak to the grown up persons on my visits to the schools. Many coming from distant villages, to see their friends or transact business, have thus an opportunity of hearing the gospel, and on their return take with them the glad tidings of salvation by Christ Jesus. The children also frequently relate to their parents what they have heard at school, and in the

evening read to them often from our books. In those places where we have schools, there is a far greater number who can read than we find in other villages. Even the women hear about their soul's salvation, purchased by Christ's precious blood. Some of the boys are anxious to improve themselves, and give every satisfaction, and after leaving pursue their studies in the English school.

The caste system, too, must lose its hold in places where the Bible is taught: prejudices and heathen darkness are gradually dispelled, men of low caste are led to observe that bráhmans are often inferior to themselves, and they frequently see the bráhman boy below the sudra in the class. And in reading of the follies, sins, and punishments of their gods, they perceive that the whole system of caste is the silly work of man; and though they may not be able to throw off their religion and embrace the gospel, yet it is evident that Hinduism sinks in their estimation, and bráhmanism is on the wane. The gospel is far better understood by those instructed in vernacular schools, than it is by others. The best Bengáli scholars, and even natives themselves, have often to lament that the low people do not understand them. We have reason to think that some believe in Christ, though they have not courage to avow it. I have been asked by one of my scholars, a young bráhman, lying on his death-bed, to pray to Jesus for the salvation of his soul; his trust was only in Him. The relatives of the boy were present.

I have also been at the dying bed of an old man, the father of one of my pupils, who called on the Lord Jesus to have mercy on him at the eleventh hour. This shows there are Hindus who have no faith in their idols on trying occasions. But more than this, I have been permitted by the mercy of God to gather in the first-fruit of our vernacular schools. Last year, an intelligent youth, seventeen years old, openly renounced Hinduism and put on Christ by baptism. He became truly pious, loved the Saviour, read his Bible and cultivated private prayer. He has now entered into the joy of his Lord. There

were three other boys in the village from which this youth came, who also wished to embrace christianity: one of them has since disappeared, and the others had not strength enough to encounter the opposition of their parents and friends.

Considering these results, we may fairly say they have more than equalled the labour, time and money spent on vernacular education. Let us then go on in the good work, and not despise the day of small things, for in due time we shall reap, if we faint not.

The Rev. E. Storrow would ask a question or two on this subject; Up to what age do boys usually remain in these vernacular schools? what is the number of direct conversions resulting from the schools? and what is the amount of time and labour that missionaries give to aem?

Mr. Geidt replied that boys attend from the ages of six to fifteen years; not many conversions have occurred directly at Burdwan, but Mr. Sandys has had three or four in his Calcutta school. He spends one day two hours; another day one, in the schools: and never goes to a school, without being surrounded by a large number of people.

The Rev. C. Kruckeberg finds that in schools taught by heathen sirkars, when the missionary is gone, the christian education is intermitted. He prefers English to vernacular schools, because of the greater age to which boys remain in them. He does not recollect any instance of conversion from these schools. As a means of access to the native mind generally, he has found them exceedingly useful.

The Rev. J. Anderson would ask whether the audiences of missionaries have been improved by such schools. He knows nothing of them, but wishes to get information on such points as these. In a christian country, a great stress is laid on the christian instruction of boys and girls: but you are rarely asked, whether this or that person has been converted in a school: to lay so much stress on these conversions, where boys leave young, is to subject the schools to an unfair test. School instruction prepares the people for the reception of the gospel in England, and why not here? Does it do so or not? It would seem to be an exceedingly difficult thing to preach the gospel clearly to a thoroughly heathen man;—so many are the false notions which his mind contains. He has attended Bengali preaching with great delight; and has seen the people listen with great attention; yet still, with their views, he must consider it difficult for the great truths of the gospel to enter their minds. Do not schools like these help to improve them, and make them more intelligent hearers?

Mr. Williamson thinks that good vernacular schools cannot be too highly estimated. There is great difficulty in impressing adults who have never been instructed, even when a missionary preaches as plainly and impressively as he can. Scholars are more impressible. Congregations we meet once or twice, but our scholars we see continually. He has often met people who seemed to understand the gospel better than others; but on enquiry he found they obtained this knowledge from schools, either English or vernacular, at Burdwan and elsewhere. He has had schools for thirty years. He had an English school which flourished for a long time, till a Government school was set up in opposition. These schools have been the means of dispelling prejudice and removing the objections of the Hindus. While preaching, he has frequently found himself assisted by an old scholar of one of these schools. Secular knowledge has always been given together with the gospel; the former alone tends to destroy Hinduism. These schools should, however, have a christian teacher at their head.

The Rev. A. F. Lacroix for many years had schools of this description under his charge, and has seen the very best schools in the country, those of Messrs. May and Pearson at Chinsurah, the schools at Burdwan, Mr. Piffard's, and the like. They certainly afford a great means of usefulness. They prepare the people for a better hearing and a better appreciation of the gospel. We should give as much attention as we can to such auxiliaries. It is a great advantage to preaching, that we find persons so prepared. Wherever these schools have really done extensive good, they were well attended to by the missionary. Mr. Pearson and Mr. May of Chinsurah, Mr. Jetter, Mr. Piffard, and now Mr. Geidt have given great attention to them, and taught the schools personally. He would point out an especial advantage of these schools. In the mofussil they are one of the best means of filling up those gaps which occur in the time of the missionary who is mainly employed in preaching. He cannot always be preaching, and when not doing so, may quietly instruct a school. But one step ought universally to be adopted. To have christian instruction given by heathen sirkars he would highly disapprove, and christian teachers should be appointed. To send men as christian teachers to heathen schools, is an excellent training for missionary work. In Calcutta the desire for English education is so great, that there is little possibility of doing much in this way. It has been asked: what conversions have been produced? But this is not the proper test to apply to them. He has however heard of some cases. Radhanath, one of the best catechists of the London Missionary Society, who died ten years ago, was one of the pupils of Mr. Piffard's school.

The Rev. Lal Behari De never had personal connexion with such

schools, but has witnessed the good effects in his own and neighbouring villages. The missionary, by their means, gets an attentive hearing. The parents of the children are prepared to listen to the gospel. These schools are susceptible of great improvement. He quite thinks we should not employ heathen sirkars as teachers; we should also try to make them better than they are; and we should introduce better books, as now is the time to do so. The Government is about to establish schools of their own all over the country. He would advocate English education in Calcutta and the large towns; but of course it is through the native languages that the people generally are to be educated and converted. Regarding Mr. Long's report, he thinks that the Conference should give special attention to his suggestion respecting the establishment of a native christian newspaper.

The Rev. W. H. Hill is a teacher or superintendent of some vernacular schools. He thinks that if the same attention had been given to vernacular schools which has been given to English, we should have had greater results. His own schools in christian villages are, from their position, placed under great disadvantages. He feels exceedingly grateful to his predecessors for what they have done. The education of females also deserves much attention. He gives medicine to many in the villages; and of the females who come, most were persons educated in schools and have overcome caste prejudices. The best hearers of the gospel too are the parents of the scholars. Those educated come for christian books. Such is the good influence of this education, that when the *heathen* sirkar came on sabbath, several of those present declared that he had made all the scholars christians.

The Rev. T. Smith would ask; have adult schools been tried any where? and if so, with what results? He saw some excellent adult schools in Cape Town, where they are common. Have there been also any itinerant schools established, as in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland?

The Rev. F. Schurr thought that Calcutta missionaries cannot fully appreciate the difficulties that the mofussil missionaries experience in managing these schools. There are no scholarships, and the education itself is not to very many a sufficient attraction. Most parents want a very little education for their sons; a little reading, a little writing, and a little accounts, are deemed quite sufficient. A few, however, appreciate it more. Again, there is a great want of teachers. Where can we get any other than heathen teachers? Again, the attendance is very irregular. We cannot attract the boys except by rewards, and have not the means of giving them. We have lately, however, charged one pice a month, and the attendance has improved. Mr. Schurr has tried an adult school for the christians, but only one has learned to read and write.

The Rev. J. C. Page would make only two remarks. Among the native christians he has five adult schools for women, and till the recent riots had some for men also : about seventy men have learned to read in those schools. There are 110 wives who can read, of whom very few have learned as girls, almost all learned after they were married ; many came to the school with two or three children. The women generally attend from 1 to 2 o'clock, and the men in the evening for one hour. They have met with a good deal of encouragement in these efforts. He would make another remark respecting what fell from Mr. Anderson and Mr. Williamson. With all respect to them, he cannot but think that the gospel has the power of making *itself* understood by every one. Many do understand it, who cannot read and have never been at school. They can understand what will save them. If we had more faith in the simple gospel, we should have more success. In the Burisal district the great majority of the converts were most illiterate when they became christians, yet in many ways they have proved that their conversion was real.

The Rev. C. Bomwetsch thought that from vernacular schools, as now carried on in our villages, very little good can be expected. But when well carried on, the best effects may be seen from vernacular education in elevating the native mind. It has often been said that we cannot train them in this way, but that English must be employed. He would say, God bless the English institutions. But they do not do all the good. The vernacular schools, when improved, are useful in their sphere. It is not true that we cannot teach geography or physical geography, or natural history through the vernaculars. We can do so. He has lately employed a native assistant in science in his Santipore training school with the best effect. As to girls' schools ; there is great difficulty in reaching the females. Without solicitation the Babus at Santipore came forward and offered thirty-six girls, but on condition that christianity should not be taught. This was of course refused. The women, it is believed, are anxious to learn, but are in many cases prevented. Public schools for them are not liked.

After the discussion was concluded, the Conference passed the following Resolution respecting this subject.

Resolution on Vernacular Day Schools.

That this Conference consider Vernacular Day Schools to be institutions of considerable importance in missionary work. Every native church should have a christian school for the instruction of its young people; and such schools may be

made useful aids in promoting the evangelization of the heathen. Small schools, containing but a few scholars, giving the mere elements of knowledge, and placed under a heathen teacher, they consider a waste of effort and money. But experience has shewn that good schools have furthered the cause of the gospel in times past, and continue to further it to the present day. In order to render them useful, their education should be rendered as high as existing school books allow: they should have at least one christian teacher; and should be carefully superintended by the missionary himself. Such schools furnish excellent opportunities of preaching to adults; they help to secure the attention and confidence of the heathen generally; they facilitate the comprehension and appreciation of the gospel; and increase the number of those actually acquainted with it. In regard to the missionary himself, they furnish profitable employment for him during those hours in which he is not engaged in more public preaching. The Conference has heard with pleasure of the success of the adult schools among the christians of Burrisál, and thinks that the example set there may with advantage be followed by others.

Friday Afternoon.

The Conference having adjourned for a short time, resumed at 1 o'clock; after the singing of a hymn, the Rev. J. Pourie, of the Free Church Mission, offered prayer.

The next subject for the consideration of the Conference was then introduced in the following paper, by the Rev. John Fordyce.

Native Female Education.

The instructions of the Committee at whose request this paper has been prepared, and the little time that can be allotted to any single topic, alike forbid a sketch of the state of the females of India, or a history of efforts in their behalf, or

even minute details regarding the present state of this branch of missionary operations. I shall merely glance at peculiar difficulties, present an estimate of present plans, and offer suggestions to accelerate progress.

It is not necessary to prove the *importance* of this work, especially as this was established on the first day of the Conference by two eminently competent witnesses,—the Rev. A. F. Lacroix, and Sir Charles Jackson: the former accounting the inaccessibility of females as a very great hindrance to the work of Missions; and the latter, as quoted by Mr. Lacroix, singling this out as *the greatest hindrance of all.*

I.—Peculiar difficulties in the way of Female Education, especially in Bengal.

Some of these are, the rigid maintenance of caste, especially with reference to females, a remarkable sensitiveness as to whatever might affect unfavourably the prospects of daughters, early marriages, and the influence and superstition of the elderly females. Among the poor, the men being untaught, they do not appreciate the value of education; in the higher and middle classes the seclusion of the females, jealousies between families, and the prejudices of the senior Babus; amongst *all* the want of palpable temporal profit from education. Many intelligent native gentlemen are in favour of female education and do nothing. Though encompassed with difficulties, they might overcome all, but for two things which in some quarters are now the chief hindrances, viz. an *apathy* which lulls zeal, where convictions are clear; and a *timidity* which would be glad to *follow*, but cannot *lead.*

There are difficulties as to *agency* altogether peculiar to this department. Missionaries can do little, except by organizing, superintending, and securing supplies. The timidity of native females makes it desirable to have teachers chiefly of their own sex. The wives of missionaries have in many cases laboured nobly, and so disinterestedly that they are worthy of double honour; but domestic duties have often un-

fitted them for this self-imposed task, and sustained efficiency (not to say progress) has been sadly marred by the failure of societies to supply adequate assistance.

Further, young ladies have been sent from Britain, but generally so well selected, that they have soon been attracted to other spheres, in some cases carrying on their mission, but often otherwise. To pass over this fact would conceal one of the peculiar and most perplexing difficulties of the past and the future. A similar cause will always lessen the real fruits of normal schools; but this, let us remark in passing, forms a reason for increasing them, and not for setting them aside. Further, educated native females, while unmarried, can only teach under European eyes: and, if married, they can seldom be available for this work beyond their own homes.

Among the higher classes there is another difficulty as to agency, arising from the fact that on the one hand they fear christianity more in reference to daughters than sons—a fear which Bethune's compromise has done much to foster; and on the other, that few, except earnest Christians, will care for this work, so long as pecuniary inducements are wanting; and really earnest Christians cannot conceal the way of life, nor consent to teach *only* what is but *loss*, compared with the knowledge of Christ.

Finally, under this head, this is not *merely* an educational question, but involves a re-adjustment of woman's position in society. Education is but a means towards an universal revolution in the domestic constitution of India; and those who know the power of Hindu conservatism, and the absence of those nobler motives which are needed as forces towards such a revolution, will at once see that this single fact reveals a host of difficulties. To some these appear so formidable that they would defer the elevation of India's daughters, until her sons have become more enlightened and ennobled, forgetting that in order that India may have a race of truly noble sons, she must have first a race of enlightened mothers. It may be a slow process. There is the less reason for delay. Undaunt-

ed by difficulties, let efforts for both go hand in hand, that they may act and re-act on each other, for their mutual and simultaneous elevation.

II.—Estimate of existing plans of operation.

To present a full estimate of the numerous efforts for Native Female Education in Bengal since 1818, would necessitate a lengthened historical sketch. This would be out of place here, and yet they must be referred to, lest it should seem that these efforts are undervalued. Their importance is not to be estimated merely by the direct and palpable results for good on individuals and on society; but also by the experimental light they have shed on the path of duty now, alike by their successes and their failures. I cannot even name all the mothers in our Indian Israel, who have laboured with self-denying zeal, and whose labours have been owned of God. There are some, however, who have done so much in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, that their names will be permanently associated with the cause of woman's elevation in India;—Mrs. Wilson, Miss Bird, and the late Mrs. Sandys of the English Church; Mrs. W. H. Pearce, and Mrs. Coleman (afterwards Mrs. Sutton) of the Baptist Mission: Mrs. Mundy and Mrs. Mullens, of the London Mission; Miss Laing, and Miss Saville of the Scotch Missions; but to do justice to their labours of love, demands not a page but a volume.

1. Day Schools.—Most of these are *bazar* schools, attended by the very lowest of the people. Many years ago there were more of them in Calcutta than now; and to Calcutta chiefly our remarks on bazar schools apply, hoping that brethren will supplement them with happier views of matters in the mofussil.

Mrs. Wilson, whose name will ever be associated honorably with this cause, had at one time nineteen such schools; but they do not appear to have fulfilled her hopes, and they were all given up for one, the Central School. Mrs. Pearce and Mrs. Coleman had also many such schools under their care, but they also

were closed, having led to no very satisfactory results. More recently several bazar schools were established under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Yule, whose experience and opinions coincide with Mrs. Wilson's; and they are all likely to be soon closed, unless parents begin to value education for its own sake. In another day school near Calcutta there has lately been a *strike* for more pay. Giving money directly or indirectly is doubtful policy. I would not condemn it in others, but would hesitate to do it. In such a case we should not question every thing for conscience' sake; but leave each one to act on his own convictions of duty. There is nothing in such procedure reprehensible, though it may be inexpedient. Sooner or later it must be given up.

Results from bazar schools are far from satisfactory, from such causes as the unsuitableness of teachers, the wickedness of the women who bring pupils, the irregularity of attendance, the early marriage of some to husbands utterly untaught, and the destination of many by their vile *guardians* to a life of infamy. Individuals may have been benefited in these schools; but they have no diffusive principle, and no palpable permanent effects. They touch no great springs of action in society. They are at the base of the social scale, and so despised that such example hinders rather than forwards the great cause. Hence, if maintained, it is less in the hope of general results, than for the good of the poor but precious souls, for whom the education given should be simple and purely vernacular. It is gratifying to be able to add that Mr. Yule has opened this week a day-school near Calcutta on a new and better plan—a plan which is utterly impracticable in the city. The girls are of a higher class, and not only come freely, but the parents have provided a school, and in part also a house for a teacher, at their own expense.

We know of no *select* day-schools except Bethune's, which is not connected with missions. It has done some good, and may yet do more. Its partial failure is the consequence of being intended for the higher classes, but not adapted to their

ideas,—providing a *public* education for those who will only accept it in *private*. There are schools for others than natives, such as Mrs. Ewart's admirable school for Armenian girls and Jewesses, which are so important and so purely missionary, that they ought to be mentioned, though scarcely included in the subject of this paper—the education of native females.

2. Boarding Schools.—Of these, as we learn from Mr. Wylie's work on Missions, there are 28 in Bengal, having 791 pupils. Probably, in proportion to numbers, these Institutions have been more blessed in real conversions than any other, which may be accounted for from the fact that many of the pupils have been long and entirely under christian influences. The fruits are not striking; but they are even now precious; and they will be found more so many days hence, Some of the former inmates of these schools are teachers. and many may be found in the dwellings of native preachers, teachers, catechists and humbler members of our churches, making them christian homes, as only godly wives and mothers can make them; and we doubt not, that if one had the eye of a seer, he might discover in these humble homes the Anthusas and Monicas, and in their prattling boys, the Chrysostoms and Augustines of the church of Christ in India.

Boarding schools vary considerably, both in the origin of their inmates, and the mode of management. Some are orphan homes, others are for children of native christians, and in others, the two are combined. We would urge no single mode of conducting them. They should be adapted to the probable destiny of girls, which cannot be altered by education so much as in the case of boys. Injudicious kindness might embitter after life, by raising them in some respects too far. For the daughters of village christians, destined for village life, a few only being better settled, I regard as a model Mrs. Mullens's school at Bhowanipore. Bengali is thoroughly taught to all, and English only to a select few; and whilst native habits not positively evil are retained, every effort is made to elevate and purify the moral tone.

In orphan homes the inmates, in Calcutta at least, are more varied both in their origin and prospects; and being completely under the control of the superintendents, another mode of management is desirable. Vernacular instruction should of course be regarded as of paramount importance; but it is desirable also that the English language be thoroughly taught, and English habits partially introduced,—chiefly because some may become teachers in schools and zenanas; and many will, as hitherto, be married to highly educated natives. In the latter case ignorance of English would be a deeply felt *inequality;* and our aim is not merely to educate but to elevate; and, first among a few, but ultimately over all India, to raise woman to be the companion, the counsellor, the equal of man.

3. Normal Schools.—I know of only one purely normal school, although a normal class may be more or less definitely formed in orphan homes. I refer to the one at Tallygunge, under the excellent management of the Misses Suter. It is devoted to native female education, though the pupils be Europeans and East Indians. Its first-fruits, as I can testify from personal knowledge, are such as give promise that, if duly supported, it may become one of the most important institutions in India.

4. Zenana Schools.—In a very few cases governesses have been employed for brief periods by native gentlemen; and there is reason to believe that not a few young Babus have taught their wives and sisters. Many years ago Mrs. Wilson, Miss Bird, Mrs. Chapman and others visited zenanas, were welcomed, and imparted a little instruction to the inmates; but so far as we know, there was no plan commenced till the present year, capable of indefinite extension, and on a self-sustaining principle. The plan originated with my friend, the Rev. Thomas Smith. So long ago as 1840, he proposed a scheme for the domestic education of the females of the upper classes; but it met at the time with no cordial, or at least no practical response. This was not his own de-

partment of labour, and those whose work it was, would not then take it up. Since February last, it has been my privilege to co-operate with Mr. Smith in commencing a plan similar to that proposed fifteen years ago; and as the experiment has succeeded admirably these six months, it may not be premature now to make it known, concealing only for the present the names of those native gentlemen, who have nobly dared to advance before their fellows.

Mr. Smith obtained the consent of several highly intelligent Babus to admit a governess, and pay for her services. This was the more gratifying, as the arrangement was made on the clear understanding that she would be free to impart religious instruction. An European teacher was sent, accompanied by a native girl as her assistant; and the results, both as regards the progress of the pupils, their attachment to the governess, and their lively interest in her instructions, are highly gratifying. The only outlay was for the purchase of a horse and gharee, the Babus paying enough for a small salary to the teacher, and the current expenses of the conveyance. Similar arrangements are in progress with other native gentlemen; and a second governess, an ex-pupil of the Misses Suter's normal school, has just begun, and may soon be wholly employed in domestic tuition, for which she is singularly qualified by a thorough knowledge of Bengali as well as English.

If the Lord be pleased to raise up agents to carry out this plan on a large scale, it will go far to unlock many a prison-home, and to solve one of the most perplexing of missionary problems.

Such are the four plans in actual operation:—Day, Boarding, Normal, and Zenana Schools. The number of natives in attendance at these in Bengal appears to be not more than from 1,000 to 1,200. This calculation is made from Mr. Wylie's invaluable work on Bengal Missions, adding one or two schools which he has omitted, and deducting those included who are not natives; *one thousand* among *twenty millions!* Even if Madras and Bombay be somewhat in advance of Ben-

gal in this department, we shall only have five or six thousand females under tuition, out of from 80 to 100 millions, or one girl for every 15,000 females!

III.—Suggestions for the advancement of Female Education.

In venturing to offer a few hints, the two following aims must be steadily kept in view:—1st, devising means by which those trained in normal and other Christian institutions may effectively act on the heathen population in zenanas or public schools;—and 2ndly, seizing self-acting social principles, as e. g. by promoting education among females of the higher classes, so as to bring into play among the Rajahs and Babus the desire of having their daughters well settled in life, as a force in favour of female education; and among the poor, the desire of communicating with relatives at a distance, which is the mainspring of a recent spontaneous movement in Jessore.

1. Orphans, outcasts, and daughters of native Christians should be trained more than hitherto with a reference to their talents and prospects, in order that as soon as possible the native churches may exemplify more perfectly the true place and legitimate influence of woman.

2. Self-sustaining schools, or partially so, should be commenced as soon as possible. There might be, perhaps there are, schools on a simple plan in the christian villages, conducted by educated native females.

Those parents, whose children are admitted to boarding schools, should pay for it. In one institution at least this is begun, and the payments vary from 8 annas to 3 Rupees each; importance being attached not to the amount, but to the principle. Last year an attempt was made to form a small boarding school on the self-supporting plan, under the care of the Rev. Behari Lal Singh and his wife; but it must be deferred till more native christians be able and willing to pay a sufficient sum.

3. Normal schools should be multiplied, Europeans being secured as far as possible, as most suitable for governesses and teachers, and most likely to give a few of their best years to the work.

4. Orphan homes as well as normal schools should be so situated and so organized that governesses and assistants may go out from them to the zenanas of the rich and the schools for the poor. This is of the greatest importance, especially to the family-school scheme, which cannot succeed, unless a free home be provided for the governesses and assistants.

5. Prudent and energetic efforts should be made to increase zenana schools, until many of them be merged in select day-schools, both for economy, and to secure a more thorough education. In this, I may add, the views and purposes of several native gentlemen concur with our own.

6. A small series of books in Bengali and English, suitable for female classes, public or private, should be prepared and published; or at least one or two, as supplementary to a selection from existing school books. This want has been greatly felt in the zenana schools already, and will soon be more so. It is worthy of the attention of the authoress of *Phulmani and Karuna.*

7. The intelligent natives whose convictions are entirely in favour of female elevation, should be dealt with frankly but firmly, in reference to this duty, which is as urgent as it is clear. Those who dare to be singular, should be honored for their courage; whilst others might be all the better for more emphatic expressions than they have yet heard, of British indignation against their domestic despotism.

8. Let the press and direct personal intercourse be employed to impress upon our rulers and all resident Europeans their responsibility in this matter; and thus bring into play a variety of forces to effect a peaceful and blessed revolution in the homes of India.

9. And finally, let our great missionary societies and boards in Britain and America be earnestly urged to take this

department up, and not leave it, as some of them do, to merely occasional supplies. If they have no associated Ladies' society, bearing this as their peculiar burden, clearly the general society ought to give aid to a branch of missions so essential, one of the missionaries at each station taking the superintendence of it. If there be such societies as in the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, it should be made part of one missionary's duty, at each presidency, to aid the ladies sent out, and report; or, if such a society has a missionary as its own agent, he should be associated as closely as possible with the general mission of his own church. Thus this cause might assert its rightful place, not only in India, but also in Exeter and Assembly Halls, where it has hitherto been kept nearly as much in the shade, as woman herself in her own zenana!*

* During the Conference two other important suggestions were made: the first by the Rev. T. Smith, that medical missionaries would have peculiar opportunities of forwarding the cause of woman's elevation in India, from finding access where the clerical missionary is excluded;—and the other by the Rev. J. W. Yule, that much might be done by earnestly and frequently pressing personal duty on the young men in the college classes of our great institutions. *Since* the Conference I have had the opportunity of witnessing at Madras most important results from the earnest efforts of the late Rev. John Anderson in the direction recommended by Mr. Yule,—results not confined to missionary schools, but including several supported, conducted, and attended by Hindus.—I also take the liberty of stating that whilst I saw much in that city to suggest views that cannot be introduced here, in reference to this department of the work of missions, the only statement in this paper which I have seen reason even slightly to *modify*, is one at p. 149, in reference to payments to day-pupils. Whilst still feeling a repugnance to this plan, it cannot be denied that the system, of which this is a feature, has been very useful at Madras. I do not, however, suppose that success in Bengal is to be attained precisely in the same way as at Madras, for the state of female society is very unlike (though having some aspects in common) in the two presidencies. The greater *seclusion* of females in Bengal is the most marked difference, and it is one that greatly hinders the cause in Calcutta. In regard to Female Education they are as unlike, as Sebastopol and Cronstadt are as Russian fortresses.

Madras is really conquered, and it only requires agents and means to

Such are a few suggestions. To some they may appear too many, but certainly not to those who have studied this subject in all its bearings. Be it remembered that the education of India's daughters is but a means; the grand end being, their emancipation from a state of social degradation,—their elevation to equality with man, and to the favour of God.

Such an issue we may confidently anticipate, though a revolution at once so vast in extent, and so minute and manifold in its details, cannot be realized speedily. To prepare for it, to forward it, we must be in earnest. Hitherto, if the difficulties have been duly estimated, the work itself has not been realized in all its importance and urgency, except by a few. Many have aided it, but with two or three exceptions, not largely. Efforts, it is true, have often been limited by local obstacles, but often also by want of funds. The cause has never yet been both powerfully and persistently pled in Britain. Many missionaries, after perhaps being baffled in really earnest attempts, have become almost contented with a long day of small things—not indeed in their *own* sphere, but in *this*—and seem now only to doubt the success of any fresh effort. Sound opinions are current among our native brethren, but where is there a Jeremiah weeping for the slain of the daughters of his people? The objects of our pity are out of sight, and they utter no cry for help. Still, notwithstanding all these discouragements, we know that the day of woman's emancipation hasteth greatly, and when it dawns, it will be India's Jubilee!

The Rev. J. W. YULE gave some account of the school lately established at Tallygunge for the females of the Tippoo families: and hoped that such efforts may be largely increased. Having had charge of a boarding school, he thinks decidedly that an English education should not be given

follow up the victory to large results. Calcutta on the other hand requires peculiar plans, because of its extraordinary fortifications, and the difficulty of finding access to really effective positions. Hence the zenana scheme. Success is certain; for efforts well-directed and well-sustained are sure, by the blessing of God, to prosper.—J. F.

in orphan establishments; and that the girls ought to be trained for the style of life in which they are likely to remain.

Mr. Lacroix agrees with much of what Mr. Yule has said of the evils of educating girls in a way unsuitable to their future prospects. If possible, conductors of such schools should watch carefully over their marriages, in order to make them as suitable as possible. Whenever a well taught girl has married an inferior man, the marriage has always turned out badly. With this in view he once asked for a young man the most ignorant girl in the school. It is advisable that the education of boys and girls be kept strictly at the same stage of advancement, and especially that that of the females should not be the superior of the two.

Mr. Williamson once had a number of female schools and collected them into a central school. He had many difficulties to contend with. The girls went away too young,—before they had learned any thing. He then established a monitor class; then the girls stayed longer. He knows several natives who have taught their girls in their own families, others had asked for teachers to visit their families.

H. Woodrow, Esq. stated that the Collector in Jessore recently sent an application for a grant-in-aid for a girls' school; the people have for years and years maintained their own boys' schools, and have also allowed their girls to be taught. They now wish to enlarge their schools and improve them. The people are all Hindus.

The Rev. J. Wenger stated that Mr. Morgan once found a village in Midnapore, where all the females were taught both to read and write. Somehow or other it had become the regular custom of the place.

Mr. Bomwetsch can, by his sounding system, on the Pestalozzian plan, teach girls to read and write in a year: it was very desirable that they should be taught quickly, considering the short period in which their studies are carried on.

Mr. Lacroix and Mr. Yate gave their testimony to the excellence of the system, and the success which had followed Mr. Bomwetsch's efforts.

The Rev. Behari Lal Singha described the flourishing schools which had been established by Mrs. Coleman at Chittagong.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted in reference to this topic.

Resolution respecting Female Education.

That the members of this Conference approve generally of the views expressed by Mr. Fordyce in his paper on Native Female Education; that they deplore the peculiar and power-

ful difficulties in the way of its advancement, interwoven as these are with immemorial usages, and the domestic constitution of native society; that, whilst they thankfully acknowledge the self-denying efforts of the past, and their fruits in the conversion of souls, and in the formation of christian families, they deeply feel the urgent necessity of bolder measures. Of long-tried plans in Bengal, the boarding school system has been most satisfactory in definite results; and they rejoice in the hopeful commencement of the zenana school scheme, both as a sign of progress, and as a new means of influence for the elevation of woman in this land.

Further, whilst the members of Conference consider all the suggestions worthy of attention, they especially regard the increase of normal schools or classes as indispensable to great progress, the speedy preparation of suitable books as most desirable, and the zenana scheme as entitled to hearty support and capable of large extension, at least in Calcutta. Most of all, they consider that missionary societies should deal with this department as an essential branch of their enterprize in India; and give it such a place in missionary reports, periodicals and meetings, as may be fitted to secure for this most difficult work a deep interest in the hearts of their supporters, and may lead to increased prayerfulness and liberality for the promotion of a work most important in itself, and beset with special difficulties.

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2. As the last item of their proceedings, the Conference adopted the following address to the members and committees of all the Missionary Societies in Europe and America, with a view to call increased attention to the claims of Indian Missions.

APPEAL FROM THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF BENGAL PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES TO THE COMMITTEES AND BOARDS OF MANAGEMENT OF THE VARIOUS MISSIONARY SOCIETIES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Dear Brethren,—Having been brought together, by various circumstances, in the city of Calcutta, some of us from remote parts of the province of Bengal; and making, united, a body of nearly fifty missionaries of different societies, we have held Conference together for successive days upon some of the chief questions relating to the efficient conduct of our work, and have endeavoured, by comparing our varied experience, to ascertain the progress of our cause and the value of our plans. We have considered the peculiar difficulties by which our missions in this country are beset, and the position which they have attained after many years of labour. We have examined the sphere of vernacular preaching, and the best method of securing for it the widest usefulness: we have also endeavoured to estimate the usefulness of our school systems, both English and vernacular, both for males and females: and have considered certain peculiar disabilities to which our country congregations are exposed. The review of our work, and this comparison of our experience have given us great encouragement: we have enjoyed much unanimity in our discussions, and have derived much pleasure from our fraternal intercourse. We pray that the blessing of the Lord whom we serve, and of the Spirit by whom we are guided, may rest upon our meetings; and that when this conference comes to an end, we may endeavour, as a result of our deliberations, to labour with fresh earnestness, and to render our plans more efficient for the glorious end which they are intended to subserve.

But we cannot separate without presenting to you, our respected brethren, an earnest appeal for additional efforts on

behalf of this great country, that shall make the labours of the church more worthy of its high position, and more commensurate with its heavy responsibilities to the nations brought within its influence.

India is in every way the most striking field of christian missions amongst all the countries in the world. In the extent of its territories; the variety of its nations; their ancient civilization; their great intelligence; their old superstitions, with their attendant priesthood, books, rites and religious ordinances; in every thing, in fact, connected with the physical aspect, or with the intellectual, social and moral condition of its people, it excites and has excited the wonder of all civilized nations. To us, the most wondrous fact is, that this ancient country, with its venerable religion, the most powerful system of idolatry in the world, has been brought under the dominion of the most christian nation, and lives in peace under its sway. We acknowledge with pleasure that the church of Christ has done much for India, and shows at present no disposition to diminish its efforts on its behalf. It maintains now within its domains one-third of its foreign missionaries; and annually spends on their efforts one-eighth of its benevolent income. Well does the country claim such regard; it is full of idolatry and false religion; it is almost entirely accessible to the gospel.

We acknowledge also with thankfulness that the Lord has blessed his servants, and crowned their efforts with success. Various results of the greatest value have sprung from those efforts: some of a higher, others of a lower character. The accession of converts; the raising of churches, of native christian preachers, and school teachers; the preparation of a vast material agency available for the immediate use of every competent and willing labourer that arrives in the land; the extensive spread of convictions respecting the folly of idolatry and the uselessness of so-called works of merit; new views of sin; the awakening of conscience; the diminution of the power once possessed by the priesthood, the shastras, the idol-

atrous system and the system of caste; the spread of christian doctrines, especially of the atonement of Jesus; the conviction that Christianity will ultimately prevail;—all these changes in the knowledge, views and character of the people, have sprung from the efforts made by the church of Christ to fulfil its duties, by preaching the gospel through Hindustan. We regard them with thankfulness: we feel greatly encouraged by them. But we are not content with things as they are.

It is not that we find fault with efforts in the past, or with the results which they have produced. It is not that we are dissatisfied with what is being done, or with the modes in which missions are carried on. But we turn to the other side. We contemplate with profound awe the vast, the indescribable amount of labour yet to be accomplished. We know that the Lord has blessed us. We look on our converts, and on other fruits of missions with pleasure. But the more we know India, the more we are overwhelmed by the consideration, that millions upon millions never hear the gospel, and that millions upon millions die unconverted.

Can you wonder then that we ask for larger agencies; that for this holy service we appeal to you for more men and more means; and that we ask the church to aid us by more repeated and more fervent prayers? The grounds of our appeal are numerous; the force of our claims is unanswerable. We believe that every kind of plea which can be fairly urged on behalf of other idolatrous lands, can be presented with greater force on behalf of India. Do IGNORANCE of the true way of salvation and manifest religious errors constitute a claim? Where can be found more real ignorance of it than here: where can we meet with men who have fallen into such gross, delusive and destructive errors, as the people among whom we dwell? Do HINDRANCES to the gospel call for more strenuous exertion to advance it? Nowhere are such powerful obstacles presented, as those which spring from the caste, the priesthood, the shastras and the philosophy of India. Does the EXTENT of error constitute an argument for the speedy pro-

clamation of the gospel? In India there are 330 millions of gods; the modes of salvation trusted in are numerous, ancient and influential. Many of the rites are cruel; all tend to the ruin of immortal souls. Is it desirable to christianise nations that possess INFLUENCE OVER OTHERS? Few idolatrous nations can exercise upon their neighbours so powerful and sustained an influence as the tribes of India have exerted and still exert over theirs. Do NUMBERS create a claim? No country is more thickly peopled than India. Is ACCESSIBILITY an argument? India is far more accessible than any other heathen country in the whole world. Each of these motives of itself carries weight: what can the church say, where each appears in the strongest form, and where they are all combined?

We do not dwell upon these arguments: they are well known to you: we need not add a word to enforce them; for by their soundness you are already convinced. It is not conviction that we aim at, but impression. As for ourselves, so for you, we desire that you should deeply feel how vast is the field untouched by the gospel, yet perfectly open to its influence; and that in consequence you should be stirred up to more earnest efforts to supply an agency commensurate with the work to be performed. For this end, we will endeavour to lay before you a few facts concerning two of the arguments alluded to, the *claims of population;* and their *accessibility* to the gospel.

The vast extent to which India is spread out, can scarcely be felt by those who dwell in the small island of Great Britain. It is not a country, but a continent full of countries: it is not inhabited by one people, but is possessed by different nations: it does not contain one language, but in its territories many languages are spoken, as radically different from each other as English is from Hungarian. Indeed, it is half the size of all the territories of European Russia; is inhabited by more than twice the number of its entire population; and its annual revenue reaches a higher amount. Yet Russia is the third empire in Europe, and is maintaining a powerful resistance to

England and France combined. It may therefore easily be shown that the four hundred missionaries labouring in India, though apparently many, are in reality few: that they only just touch the country, but find it impossible to go deep beneath the surface of society.

The extent of the population may be shewn, by exhibiting in detail the numbers contained in the various Presidencies and States; in the districts into which they are divided; and the towns and villages spread over them in all directions.

The following is the latest return of the population of the various PRESIDENCIES and STATES:

Presidency of Bengal, ..	45,160,000	103	Missionaries.
„ Agra, ..	30,250,000	60	„
„ Bombay, ..	10,000,000	33	„
„ Madras, ..	27,280,000	182	„
The PUNJAB, ...	5,600,000	5	„
SCINDE, ...	1,500,000	1	„
NAGPORE, ...	4,850,000	2	„
HYDERABAD, ...	10,666,000	0	„
OUDE, ...	2,970,000	0	„
Other States, ...	28,500,000	0	„

This vast population is distributed into various provinces and districts, many of which contain from one to two millions each. The following are simply a specimen:

Rajamundry, ...	887,000 has	3	Missionaries.
Cuddapah, ...	1,228,000	2	„
Salem, ...	946,000	1	„
Assam, ...	1,500,000	8	„
Burdwan,..	1,673,000	3	„
Midnapore, ...	1,360,000	0	„
Purnea, ...	1,961,000	0	„

These instances may be greatly multiplied, for there are more than a hundred such districts in the whole of Hindustan. But a list of TOWNS would be more appalling still. Numerous cities and towns in India resemble the more important cities in Europe and America, and contain from 500,000 to 100,000

inhabitants each. A still larger number contain a population of 50, 40, or 30,000 each. And the list of towns and large villages, containing from 10,000 down to 2,000 would cover pages and pages of this appeal.

The wants of India may be shewn still more by the way in which missionaries are located. In the three chief presidency towns there are no less than seventy. In Calcutta we have thirty missionaries to five hundred thousand people: but in many districts there is only ONE missionary to a million and a half. Is not such a position enough to produce a despairing sense of utter helplessness, when a missionary resides for years and years together in the midst of a population so vast?

There are other districts in a worse condition. The northern and eastern districts of Bengal contain eighteen millions that never hear the gospel. Rajpootana, Gwalior, Hyderabad and other states, contain fifty MILLIONS more in the same destitution. The great province of Mysore has but seven missionaries to its vast population. This has been going on for ages: and even since the modern era of missions, sixty years ago, almost two generations of Hindus, numbering three hundred millions of immortal souls, have gone into eternity unprepared.

All these nations are accessible to the church. One hundred millions are entirely under the Government of the East India Company, and religious liberty is as perfect as in England. Missionaries are not situated like those in Madagascar, or those in Tahiti: or even like those in independent Islands, or among the native kings in Southern Africa. There is no hindrance, but on the contrary, ample protection is afforded to a prudent and faithful missionary. We ask you, to look at the mode in which other and more prosperous fields have been occupied. In the South Seas, one or two English missionaries have gone to an island with no more than three thousand inhabitants: or from twelve to fifteen missionaries have been placed among a population of sixty thousand. In New Zealand, with eighty thousand people, there are forty-six missionaries; thirty missionaries reside among eighty thousand

people in the Sandwich islands. The whole of the Malay-speaking islanders of the South Seas amount to eight hundred thousand, and have one hundred and twenty missionaries. The single district of Masulipatam possesses a population of nearly the same size, and has but *four* missionaries. The Negro settlements in Western Africa, little known to the world at large, are taught by fifty-seven missionaries. The great Presidency of Agra, full of flourishing towns, and inhabited by a spirited population of thirty millions, has but the same number. We might add numerous other illustrations of the same fact, all tending to impress deeply upon the church the immensity of people unreached by the truth.

What then, dear brethren, is to be done for these perishing souls? We ask for nothing unreasonable, nothing impossible. We well know that it is far beyond your power to supply even India alone with an adequate number of qualified missionaries. We know your sympathy for the heathen world; the numerous claims presented to you from your many missions; and the difficulty, in the present position of the churches, of raising sufficient funds. But we do press upon you the greatness of the claims of India: and urge that, because of its vast population, and of its entire accessibility to the gospel, these claims surpass those of all others. Believing these claims to be undeniable, we urge you to try and do something special for India. We would suggest that every society should endeavour to send a few more men in proportion to its strength: and so to place them, as to render them a real and powerful *addition* to the present agency. We remember with thankfulness that such additions during the last five and twenty years have been very large: and that the strength of Indian missions has been nearly trebled. We are aware also that the Church Missionary Society has, during the last few years, considerably increased the number of its missionaries, both in Southern and Northern India. With pleasure we acknowledge that the Baptist Missionary Society recently resolved to send twenty new men, some of whom are to occupy well chosen

stations in destitute districts of our own province: and that some of these brethren have arrived. We know too that the American Board, on recently reviewing the Madura Mission, and marking new stations that were desirable, resolved to send three missionaries to occupy them. Such a plan is, we think, practicable for each Society, and such a plan, acted on from time to time, will, under God's blessing, secure the most solid advance of the kingdom of Christ. If out of the twenty Societies engaged in Indian missions, the larger send *ten* men, and others less, so as to secure an average addition of *five men each, during the next five years*, there will be found no less than five hundred missionaries in India, of whom a hundred will have been entirely added during that brief period. We pray you to regard our appeal for the land in which we labour. We plead for the multitudes we see, whose ignorance we know, whose passage into another world in such vast numbers, unsaved, fills us with mourning and sadness. We ask your efforts. We ask your prayers. May the Lord of the Church himself prepare the harvest, and send forth more labourers to reap it for his praise.

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3. In regard to the publication of the proceedings of this Conference, the Rev. Messrs. Smith, Wenger and Mullens were appointed a publishing Committee, and were requested to secure, if practicable, the publication of a separate pamphlet, in an inexpensive manner. It was presumed that the proceedings would first appear in the regular organ of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.

4. It was resolved to request that Conference kindly to take into consideration those subjects of general interest which have not been brought before the General Conference, and publish the result of their discussions.

5. The thanks of the Conference were presented to the Financial Committee, Messrs. Muston and Stanley, for their services: and to the Secretary, the Rev. J. Mullens, for the

manner in which he had carried out the arrangements, under which the Conference has been so successfully held.

6. The Rev. A. F. Lacroix then moved, and the Rev. J. Ogilvie seconded the following Resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolution on Parting.

At the conclusion of their proceedings, the General Conference of Bengal Missionaries desire to record their gratitude to their Lord and Master, for his great goodness in bringing them together, and giving them his presence and blessing during their pleasant meetings. At the same time they would humbly confess their infirmities and the sins that have mingled with their services and deliberations ; and beg his forgiveness for his name's sake. They acknowledge with thankfulness the encouragement in their work, which by their mutual consultations, they have been able both to give and receive : and trust that the information and suggestions that have been laid before the Conference, will tend to fit them more than ever for the important work in which they are severally engaged. And now, in bidding each other farewell, the members of this Conference would commit each other with all affection to the tender mercies of their common Lord, and would assure one another that they part with increased affection and esteem. They will ever bear one another on their hearts before the throne of grace, will sympathize with each other's trials, will rejoice in each other's joys ; and will feel it to be an enhancement of the satisfaction, which they experience in carrying on the glorious work of proclaiming the gospel, that they are fellow-workers with the brethren with whom they have been associated in the meetings of this Conference, now brought to a successful issue.

The meeting closed with prayer by the Chairman.

Friday Evening, Sept. 7th.

On Friday evening, a Public Meeting of Christians of all denominations, interested in the cause of Missions, was held in the Calcutta Town Hall. It was one of the largest religious meetings ever held there. The Bishop of Calcutta presided, and on his retirement, the chair was taken by the Rev. D. Ewart. The meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Storrow, T. Smith, J. Herdman, J. Sale of Jessore, C. Neale of Burdwan, and G. Smith, Esq. Principal of the Doveton College.

APPENDIX.

The following are extracts from a valuable paper, prepared for the Conference, by the Rev. W. Smith, of the Church Missionary Society, at Benares. It arrived too late for discussion. The publishing Committee regret that their limited space will not allow it to be printed in full.

On Vernacular Preaching.

1. In preaching to the heathen we should take care that we are *understood*. This is a most important point. Very often our words are not understood; or, if our words are, our meaning is not, or it is perverted. We speak, for instance, of *Parmeshwar*, and they think we are talking about Rám. We speak of salvation *(mukti)* and they think we mean absorption. We talk of God's omnipresence, and they take it for granted that we believe, with them, that the spirit in man is God, or a portion of him. We tell them that they must not worship idols, and they jump to the conclusion that they must become *Vedantists*. It is, therefore, evidently of the first importance that we explain ourselves as we go on, and define the terms which we use: and when we have done, it is a good plan, if practicable, to ask them what we have been saying, and what they have understood, and to give them, in a single sentence almost, an epitome of it to take away with them.

2. I find it constantly necessary to tell them that the missionary movement is *no political*, or Government *measure;* and that if we only consulted our own interests as rulers, we should never wish them to become Christians, but to remain just as they are: and that we preach the gospel to them because it is Christ's command,—that if Ram, or Muhammad had given them such a command, surely they would be anxious to carry it out. We preach the gospel to them also, because we know it is the best, and, in fact, the only divine religion in the world. That it, and it alone, sets forth a perfectly sinless character, and that character divine; and that this perfectly sinless and divine character was a sacrifice for the sins of the world. That we, therefore, and many other idolatrous nations renounced our sinful gods, to embrace the feet of this sinless, divine incarnation. Here I like to enlarge on the way in which we became, or ought to have become Christians, and that afterwards when Muhammad appeared, we could not leave the master to go to one who, according to his own statement, was only a servant, and as we prove, a sinful servant too. We

could not leave the perfect God-man and Saviour to become the followers of a mere sinful mortal, who teaches us to depend upon our own works for salvation, which we know, in the sight of God, are altogether defiled, and what we must ever feel ashamed of—that of our repentance even we have constantly to repent ourselves. It is obvious to remark that we should ever shew ourselves deeply in earnest, and that we are personally partakers of the salvation which we offer to them.

3. With regard to *texts* to preach from and *previous preparation*, I often read a verse or passage to begin with, and explain it, and have always the New Testament in my hand: but ere long I find it necessary generally to introduce some topic on which we are all agreed, regarding for instance, God, his attributes, creation, sin, &c., always, of course, finding my way, sooner or later, to Christ and his salvation. As to preparation, from the interruptions to which we are liable, and the frequently fluctuating character of our congregations, it is often useless to get up a set discourse as we do for our Christian assemblies. But it is of the first importance to have our minds stored with matter on the great doctrines of Christianity, and a studied method of bringing it out to the best effect. It is also of great use and importance to have clear views on the leading points of Hindu and Muhammadan doctrines, and to be able to shew how far they are right and reasonable, and where they fail. Here a synopsis drawn out for reference would be useful.

4. With regard to *objections*. I believe all missionaries are agreed that we ought to preach the gospel first, as far as we are permitted, and to do it in the way that shall give the least possible offence to the prejudices of the people; and that, while doing this, any allusions to their religion should be such as are not likely to irritate, but rather to conciliate, praising the labour they take in their worship, the expense and inconvenience they put themselves to; telling them, as I often have (though the kind of smile elicited, shews they look upon it as rather a doubtful compliment) that should they ever through God's grace become Christians, they are likely to make far better Christians than we English, who are not, naturally, half so devoutly disposed as they.

5. While thus delivering our discourse, it appears to me of much importance to shew that we are not *partisans*, so to speak, and that we have no interests separate from those of our hearers, and are moved by the purest love and goodwill in all we say to them. This will of itself obviate many objections. Still objections and questions will be brought forward. If possible, we put them off generally, till we have given a full statement of our message. Those who bring them forward, may be divided into three classes.—The *reasonable* men, honestly seeking for information. These, of course, should be treated with much attention, and pains taken to remove their doubts.—The *angry* men, filled with pride and enmity, and wanting only to interrupt our proceedings.—And the *simply ignorant*, with whom it is next to impossible to argue, and therefore, often the wisest plan not to attempt it. But with them and the second class it is

far from easy at all times to know what to do. No one rule, of course, can be laid down, excepting that we ought never to get angry. One thing I may say, to God's praise, that I have never been confounded, when I have been enabled to lift up my heart to him in prayer for direction and help.

6. I have often told them that they cannot bring forward one objection to Christianity arising either from real doubt, or enmity, or ignorance, which we in Europe have not brought forward before them, and still have ultimately been led to renounce our old religions and embrace Christianity. And that, when they reflect, they must feel convinced that the evidences of this divine origin of this religion must have been overwhelming, before the great, and proud, and powerful, and some of them, learned nations of the West could have been induced to renounce the religion of their forefathers, and to embrace that of the reputed son of a Jewish carpenter, first promulgated by his fisherman-followers, of the same despised nation,—a religion, too, so contrary to their lusts, pride and ambition. The force of which observation they may perceive when they consider the reluctance of the lowest amongst themselves—a Chamar or a Dom even—to become a Christian, although Christians are here the rulers of the country.

7. As one way of abating opposition, I sometimes anticipate objections, which takes off the edge of them wonderfully. I tell them that I know very well they look upon us as officious intruders—that our very appearance among them as religious teachers is an insult to their understanding, to the wisdom of their forefathers, and to the religion which they profess; and that as we shew so little respect to their religion, so we seem to them to hold up, in a shameless way, our own to contempt and insult, hawking it about, as we do in the bazars, to the acceptance of every cooley. And that it does appear the very extreme of folly, for us upstart English to offer our borrowed religion to the acceptance of a people so ancient, so learned, so religious as the Hindus, whose holy, and, as they say, inspired sages were studying and teaching the deep things of wisdom and theology, ages before our forefathers were naked wanderers in their native jungles. Now, I say, I can well understand how you should feel angry and offended at our presuming to stand up in your cities, to teach you what, as you think, you are so much better able to teach us. But still you should consider the matter coolly, and not let your passions get the better of your reason—*you* who make such great pretensions to reason and knowledge. You see we are not bad men, and you see we are not mad men either, nor yet very ignorant men. You know, or ought to know, that we are not paid by Government for what we do, and that our pay is not large, that it can scarcely be suspected we do work so unpleasant to the flesh merely for that. And you know, or might know, if you would examine, that whether we be mistaken or not in our aim, our intention at least is good. We desire, as far we know, to do you good; though you, alas! look upon us as the greatest enemies you have. What motive

could we possibly have for seeking your harm? You have never harmed us, and you are not only our fellow-creatures, but our fellow-subjects. Depend upon it, the cause of our troubling you in this way is this: we believe we have got a panacea for all your sorrows and woes. We have found it so ourselves, and we offer it, as we are commanded, to you and all men for acceptance. We have tried, as well as you, what the worship of the sun and others, called gods, can do, and have found it all vain, and so have you too, but you won't acknowledge it. You know very well that so far from being delivered from your sins by your *pujas*, &c., you have not conquered that one little member, your tongue, and ten to one but you are in downright enmity even with your own brother: which things alone, if there was nothing else, make it evident that however you may talk and boast, you are as far from God as you can well conceive. Come, then, let us seriously and as friends talk the matter over. What if Christ was not of our country or of your's, what of that? If it should turn out that he can bestow upon us what, as proved by experience, no other can present, peace and everlasting happiness, let us not like ignorant, prejudiced and narrow-minded men reject him, because he did not take birth in our country.

8. In short, as we all know and acknowledge, (the only difficulty is the practising of it) we must conduct ourselves among them as their brethren, notwithstanding that they will often with indignation and contempt disavow the relationship—as their brethren, feeling, not contemning, their difficulties and prejudices, placing ourselves in their situation, and shewing that we do not ignore the innumerable objections that must arise in their minds from the fact of a *new* religion being offered to them, —offered by *us—unclean foreigners—beef-eating* and *pig-eating foreigners;* and that although they, in their ignorance and pride, may pretend to despise us, we do not despise them; but pity them in their moral, political and religious degradation, and are ready, if it may be, to weep with them in their sorrows, and to shew them the way to rejoicing.

9. As to the objections themselves, brought against Christianity, or, what amounts to the same thing, the defences set up for Hinduism and Muhammadanism; I will only observe that it is of the first importance in trying to meet their objections, first of all thoroughly to understand them, and if possible, the motives prompting them; and also to make ourselves quite sure that our replies are thoroughly understood in return. Let us strive to be cool and collected, and to shew the people that we are not afraid of being caught in a trap, and that we have no personal case to contest with them, but simply to set forth God's truth. And if they be not willing to treat the matter in this dispassionate, seasonable manner, just tell them that we consider it wrong to treat God's affairs in any other way, and are unable, therefore, to proceed any further with them. I profess to make it a rule, not to discuss religion with one who is known to be a bad man. This, both Hindus and Musalmáns approve. I have sometimes found it very useful to ask a man, who has come forward with some

objection, whether he really looks upon himself as a religious man, or whether he is not living in known sin. For if this is the case, he had better not, while thus evidently doing the devil's work, meddle with God's matters, or it may be worse for him.

11. As to the best mode of carrying on our preaching work, places, times, and hearers, &c. A chief difficulty is the climate. I do believe that if this country had had a climate similar to that of the countries in which St. Paul laboured, our success, under God, would have been very different to what it has been, despite our other great obstacle—*caste*—with which the apostle had not to contend.

12. We do our work here among the people from 6 or 7 to 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning, and from 5 or 6 to 8 or 9 in the evening, going eight or nine times in the week. In the cold weather we can be out of course more ; and, when itinerating, frequently spend nearly the whole day in going about from village to village, or in receiving the people at our tents.

13. I often enquire for the "son of peace;" but alas! few are to be found ; and those who are esteemed the most devout and holy by their own people, are not unfrequently found to be the most bigoted and impracticable. A great difficulty in visiting people at their houses, even those who would otherwise be glad to see us, arises from the fact that after two or three visits of the missionary, the poor man, in nine cases out of ten, is put down by his neighbours, as a Christian, or about to become one, and persecuted accordingly. Yet I keep one evening in the week for going to natives in their houses, or gardens, or wherever I am likely to meet with a civil reception ; and also take an occasional stroll in the city, which sometimes we have extended into irregular visitations of nearly the whole of the city. With these exceptions, our rule is to abide at our chapels and preaching places, situated in the best parts of the city procurable, where we go at stated times, and the people thus know when and where to expect us. We have tried renting houses in the city, and locating some of our catechists in them, and spending the day ourselves in the city. But from various causes it has been given up again, and our catechists withdrawn. But we have not given up the scheme. We think of trying it again as opportunity offers. One difficulty is, that in this bigoted city the high caste Hindus, who occupy the best and most eligible parts of the city, have no wish to have us as neighbours. In itinerating, it is a good plan on entering a place to enquire for the reading men, and any who profess to be religious men and to fear God, and begin with them.

On Itinerancies.

1. Regarding itinerating, much has been written and said of late, not a small portion of which appears to me to manifest misconception on the subject. Some seem to suppose that it is a feature of the work which in India has scarcely been attempted, and great results are expected from

it. As if, when we have been so long trying in vain to convert the inhabitants of cities and towns, where we have resided for years, flying visits among the ignorant and, compared with city people, more prejudiced peasantry of the country would cause congregations and churches to rise up as by magic.

2. I have usually spent during my missionary course, embracing now a period of nearly twenty-five years, about four months in the year in itinerating. The result of my experience, to state it in a few words is, that the work among the villagers is more difficult and unpromising, and their probable conversion more distant, than that of the inhabitants of cities and towns: and this, it would appear, clearly was the experience of the church from the first ages.

3. It is well for a missionary to have a district in the country, varying in extent according to the population and the means he has of working it, adjoining his station, which he and his people can visit regularly, and give full instruction to the people, and go into the whole subject of christianity, &c. But this should not cause the work at the town or city, where he is stationed, to be suspended. In cases where missionaries are located in the country, their chief work is, of course, in going about from place to place. In itinerating, the wisest plan I think is, to remain at the same village as long as we can obtain attentive hearers, be it ten days or a month, visiting also at the same time the villages in the neighbourhood. Long journeys of hundreds of miles, which in this country must be hasty ones, have produced nothing that we know of, or next to nothing. Nevertheless in the way of pioneering, it may be well for an *experienced* missionary, certainly not a young one, occasionally to undertake a long tour. I remember taking a journey into Oude during the first year of my being in the country, visiting Râm's birth-place, and writing a most *interesting* account, as I thought, of all my great doings to Bishop, then Archdeacon Corrie. He wrote in reply that my report was pleasing, &c. but very quietly observed that he thought I had better remain nearer home for the present. I think the reports of young and inexperienced missionaries (and of others too not missionaries) have done harm in misleading the public (not of course at all intended by them) and raising expectations which, those who know the people and the country, are quite sure will be disappointed.

On English Schools.

1. Since the adults of this country *can* be converted, because some *have been:* since all missionary funds are supposed to be collected expressly for the purpose of teaching and preaching the gospel, is it right, it is asked, to deviate from this point, by going with these funds to assemble Hindu and Muhammadan children by holding out the offer of secular instructions (for which *alone* we know they attend our schools) in order thus to allure them to read and to receive instruction in our Sacred Scriptures? To say nothing of its appearing, perhaps, somewhat *infra dignitatem*,

may not this procedure be supposed to bespeak a sense of weakness in our cause with regard to the adults—that they are too hard for us, and we therefore, turn to their children, who promise an easier conquest? To say, Carry on both—preaching to the adults and teaching the children—is here to say nothing to the point. We all know that the same individual, who is employed all day in teaching children, cannot have much time or strength left to preach to the adults. The question, then, is—Is it right—i. e. is it in accordance with our one great object as missionaries, to carry out our Lord's last command—is it right, for the sake of thrusting one hour's Bible lesson down the children's throats, to spend five hours in teaching them secular knowledge?

2. There is one consideration which, I must say, has weighed much with me of late to make me doubt (if nothing else did) whether missionaries and missionary funds ought to be thus employed. It is the fact that Government are now coming forward so vigorously to carry on, and so liberally to aid secular education, and also are beginning to insist that all those employed by them, in whatever capacity, down to the recipients of a salary of Rs. 4 or Rs. 6 a month, shall, at least, be able to read and write their own language. So that there would appear no room to doubt that education to an extent sufficient to enable men intelligently to hear the gospel and judge of its claims, (even allowing that they were not equal to this before) will soon spread through the country.

3. As to the effects of sound and severe mental training, from which much has been hoped, it should not be forgotten *who* they are whom we are thus training. They are as yet at the best but of a neutral character: and while we should train and discipline and arm to the teeth our *Christian* youth, should we not be wary in putting arms into the hands of those. and disciplining those who ten to one may turn these weapons against us?

3. This, we know, has already happened. It is indeed a melancholy fact of which we are all cognizant that the greater the intellect, and the greater the extent to which that intellect has been cultivated, there is often the greater pride of heart and enmity to God manifested; and if in the cause of the cultivation of that intellect the truth of God has been one of the elements constantly brought under its notice, as in our mission schools, how painful to witness the perversion of its powers in ingenious devices to nullify or falsify that truth! or, the awful hardness and indifference with which it can master and set forth the evidences of that truth!

4. Doubtless, good has been effected through the instrumentality of such Institutions here, and throughout the country. A large number of youth have been brought into familiar contact with the missionaries: their prejudices have been diminished: they have been put in possession of sound views on many subjects, and especially on religion; and have been made thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar doctrines of christianity. But as to the number of conversions, we all, alas! know too well and lament, it has been very small. Here it has been said, that

although the number has been small, yet their intrinsic value is much greater than that of converts generally, inasmuch as, being educated men, they are likely to exercise a much greater influence for good. Well, though a soul is a soul, whether that of an ignorant or a learned man, there is, no doubt, something in this observation; and we have some instances, thank God, of men educated in missionary seminaries who, having become Christians, are extensively useful.

On Village and Bazar Schools.

These schools have not done much as auxiliaries to our chief work. One great evil attending them is, that at Benares they cannot be carried on without a heathen or Muhammadan teacher at their head. A christian teacher, even if we had many such to spare, which we have not, is unable to collect the boys. It is not my opinion, and in this, I believe, I agree with missionaries generally, that the funds of a missionary society should be expended in the support of these schools, any more than in the larger heathen schools and colleges. But if a missionary have local funds, or a Government grant sufficient to defray their expenses, and good native christians to assist him in visiting them, it is very well, and sometimes very desirable too, to have a few such schools in promising localities. They, at least, give us a kind of hold on the neighbourhood, and bring us into close contact with the people, and familiarise the scholars with the truths and phraseology of the scriptures.

Girls' Schools.

Heathen and Muhammadan *girls'* schools are all but impracticable for us at present. There are two great difficulties. One is, inducing them to come *at all* to learn to read and write: the other is to read *christian* books. And, of course, *we* can have nothing to do even with girls' schools in which the sacred scriptures are not read. There appears no other way, therefore, at present, than to draw them by the offer of *pice*, as we draw the boys by the offer of secular learning. In this manner there is no doubt, if we had the funds, that a very large number might be drawn together in this city, of the poor, of course, yet respectable castes, brahmans and others. With regard to the rich and upper classes, they seem quite beyond our reach, though I have thought much on the point, and spoken to and sent written proposals to the natives regarding it. Calcutta, Madras and Bombay being the most *English* towns in India, must, by setting us the example, teach us how this difficult problem is to be solved.

What is to be done?

Assuredly, a great work of preparation has been going on, and is still going on in this country. God, in his infinite mercy, and notwithstanding our infirmities, has been working by his servants, and souls have been converted to him. Of this there can be no doubt. And this is an unspeakable encouragement, *that God has owned us.* While, then, humbly

and heartily thanking Him for his past mercies, and sincerely acknowledging all our sins, errors, negligences and ignorances, let us (I hope my brethren will pardon my presumption) gird ourselvss afresh in the name of the Lord to the arduous conflict, and aim principally at two great objects—raising the moral and intellectual character of our native christians, readers, and catechists;—and teaching and preaching the gospel to the people at large, whether the adults in town and country, or the children in the schools, leaving secular education, trades, &c. to secular men and secular means. In all our missions we cannot and ought not to do this at once. But let us set ourselves to prepare the way, and call upon the committees of our different societies to assist us herein: so that within the period of some two or three years, no evangelist may be employed in teaching Euclid, or in managing a printing press, superintending tent-making, &c. but all engrossed in their own great vocation, teaching and preaching the Lord Jesus. The secular matters of our native Christians can be managed in a great measure by their own chiefs and elders, the missionaries merely stepping in, when they are unable to decide a case. Thus we should be fully at liberty to give ourselves to our one great work of *watching for souls*. In this way, considering the extent to which the knowledge of christianity has already spread in the country, I have a strong conviction that great results would, under God, ere long manifest themselves.

We must be in *earnest*. We must be *in our work*—think, talk, act and live in it. Our reading, writing, studying, all must be missionary. The people, their minds, thoughts, desires, wants, how to do them good, and gain their affections, their view of us, &c. must form a constant subject of our meditations. We must put ourselves in their place, accustom ourselves to view things from their point of vision. And all this we must do with a sound mind, enlightened with the light of God's truth and Spirit, and filled with the holy principle of love which brought the first great missionary from the Father's bosom, to perform a work, in comparison with which our's, difficult as it appears to us, is easiness itself. The work is not our's, but His.

The following paper, by the Rev. C. B. Leupolt of Benares, written for the Conference, also came too late for discussion, and from want of time the subject could not be taken up.

Orphan Institutions.

Orphan Institutions are peculiar to Christianity. The Hindus can have none, for caste will not permit them to receive children of all classes of people to be brought up together; and if it did, they have not the principle from which such institutions spring. Nor have I ever heard of such institutions among the Muhammadans, for they also lack this peculiar principle. These institutions, therefore, can only be found among Chris-

tians, and among these we have a right to look for them: for who is to take up and provide for the orphan, who has either lost his parents or been heartlessly exposed by them, if we do not, who profess the religion of love? In consequence of this, there will be but very few, if any, who will maintain that the Missionary, who spends a portion of his time in caring for and training orphans in the fear and nurture of the Lord, spends it on an illegitimate object, as far as his missionary character is concerned. On the contrary, orphan and boarding-schools have been now and then exalted above day schools, as means of establishing christianity, and I myself have been told that, considering the native character, the training of orphans may be regarded as the chief means for converting the people, as the adults were a hopeless set. Those who made this remark, forgot at the time, that the word which we preach is not the word of man, but the word of God, and consequently an omnipotent word, able to change any sinner's heart, however obdurate it may be.

But whilst there is no difference of opinion as to the propriety of having such institutions, or of missionaries engaging in them, because in this country missionaries alone are in a position to carry them on, instructing their inmates and forming them into christian congregations; another question is, whether we are to look upon them merely as institutions conceived indeed and carried out in the spirit of Christ, but in no way calculated to aid in direct mission work: or whether we may consider them as means for establishing and consolidating christianity in India? I at once reply, In India we may consider them as such means.

I have laid stress on the word India, for our work in India is peculiar, and differs vastly from that of the apostles in Judea, Greece and Rome. In this country we cannot reach the female sex, we cannot reach the young by preaching as they did; hence we must form establishments by which we can; and in forming these establishments, we must take these difficulties into consideration.

Our commission as missionaries is to make known Christ and Him crucified, as fully and extensively as we possibly can. The result of our labours we must leave with the Lord. Success in our work will naturally encourage us, as it is the seal of the Lord upon our ministry. But although our commission is only to go and preach, yet we all long and pray for success, as did the apostles, and are anxious to see Christianity take root in India. For this purpose we have established orphan institutions, and they afford peculiar advantages to the missionary to attain his great end. He is preaching the gospel to a limited number indeed, but with a certainty of success. Whilst sowing the good seed, the missionary is sure that some will, under God's providence, spring up, and also that that which will spring up, will be of a superior order.

The first advantage we derive from the nature of these institutions, is that we receive the children under our entire control, when they are very young, and as yet uncontaminated by heathen influence. Our institution was established in 1836, but the greatest influx of children took place in

1838, when it pleased the Lord to visit India with famine. The children we then received were mostly of a more advanced age, from eight to fourteen years old, and had already imbibed all the views of a debased and idolatrous creed. But having them entirely under our own management day and night, and keeping them aloof from all further contamination, we soon gained complete influence over most of them. Those we obtain now are mostly infants, such as have lost their parents, or have been exposed by their heartless mothers. These never learn the ways of their idolatrous parents. They are all nominal Christians, find in our institution a christian home, breathe a christian atmosphere; and being with us constantly, a natural affection and new relation are created between them and us: they are brought up as a christian family.

The second advantage springing from this new relation is, that we are able to mould the minds of the orphans as we please. We have no one to interpose between us and our pupils. We can, therefore, give them what education we may believe them capable of receiving. Further, we have no superstitious system to break down; no degrading notions of idolatry to eradicate. The only obstacles we meet are those of the natural heart found everywhere. In cultivating their minds, we can therefore at once lay a biblical foundation, without fear of having Vedantic and Puranic rubbish mixed up with it. Divine truth, pure and unadulterated, can be instilled into the young mind. Whatever we impart of secular knowledge, will all be truth. In consequence of this, the intellectual training of our youths will rest upon a different basis; it will rest upon truth, instead of fiction and speculation, and hence it will differ widely from that of their countrymen.

What they learn of Hinduism and Muhammadanism is the real nature of those debasing systems, their errors and sinfulness, and the means of refuting them.

Besides the intellectual training, there is also a moral training, to go hand in hand with the other. We do not wish merely to give a theoretical knowledge of divine truth, but we want that knowledge to be practical and experimental. Whilst we delight in seeing their minds stored with divine truth, we are anxious to see their hearts converted; and whilst it gives us joy to find they are able to give a reason of the hope that is in them, we earnestly pray that that knowledge may be accompanied by a sincere belief, by holiness of heart and conformity in their walk and conversation to the principles which they profess.

To obtain this end with regard to children of both sexes, orphan schools afford advantages which we find no where else, and which no other mode of preaching the gospel affords.

Foremost of these stand *the daily prayers.* Here the missionary can exercise such an influence over the minds of the young as he can exercise nowhere else. No missionary, therefore, should entrust the daily prayers entirely to inferior hands. Once a day he should conduct them himself; for he can easily arrange the hours of prayers so as not to interfere with

his preaching. The catechetical form in reading God's word with children s the best. By care we can urge every truth home to the children's hearts.

Besides *the daily prayers*, the children have also *the means of grace.* Many a good seed is sown here and watered by the Holy Spirit. Coupled with this is another great advantage, *pastoral superintendence.* This can only be exercised over those who are constantly with us. We can take them to our rooms and pray with them; and finding that we take a sincere interest in them, few will remain taciturn and closed up in moody silence. They will become open, tell us even their faults; and this influence once gained, we can, if we act wisely and never betray confidence, maintain even when they are grown up.

Thus our teaching is not merely an occasional sermon which they might hear in the bazar, but it is line upon line, precept upon precept, a daily preaching by word and example. They see us, and will copy our example; and although we know that teaching and training alone will not convert the heart of any child, yet we also know that, under God's good providence, such combined teaching and training in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, undertaken and carried on in his name and in humble dependence on his grace, will not and cannot be without effect. Indeed, we have the promise that it shall not be without its due effect; and, therefore, we look confidently forward to success.

This success will be of a double nature. We shall raise a body of superior Bible christians, and from among these, a superior class of missionary assistants; and it would be strange, if it was not so. They will differ from adult converts. There are indeed a few adult converts who have by the grace of God completely shaken off every trace of their former superstition, but these are few, and as far as I know were mostly converted when young. The majority of our adult converts are not such. With regard to them, christianity has been engrafted on hearts which were once filled with all the abominations of an idolatrous system, and divine truth impressed on memories full of impure stories of false and licentious gods. Such impressions are not at once wiped off, nor are superstition, fears and doubts removed from their hearts in one day. It requires years of grace to free them entirely from their former ways.

With regard to orphans, and this applies to boarders also, the case is different. Divine truth forms the first impression. The minds of children are filled with bible stories and scripture truths. Their ideas will therefore run in a different channel. Their mode of thinking and subjects of conversation will naturally be different. The standard of their morals will also be higher. I speak of course of converted orphans.

From among these we may expect that the Lord will give us some to assist us in evangelizing India, and these will be superior to the majority of preachers, taken from those who were converted when they were thirty to forty years old. It is scarcely possible that these can have so full and accurate a knowledge of the gospel, as those trained up in christianity

from their childhood. When these are truly converted, they have at once the christian mind. Whilst by education they can be made fully acquainted with the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, they are uninfluenced by their errors and superstition. By regular training, habits of thought, industry and order are formed, in which our adult brethren are often lamentably deficient. Moreover, as they have all acquired English tolerably well, they have an inexhaustible mine of knowledge at their command, from which they can draw at pleasure, but which is generally closed to adult converts.

Now the question is, Have we any such christians, or is all this but a pleasing dream? As I thought over and examined this subject, I called in Mark, one of our orphan converts of the stamp above described. He has been with us since 1836, with the exception of a few years, which he spent at Purneah as school-master under the Rev. Mr. Dicken. We went over our experience, and wrote down the names of nineteen individuals from among the orphan boys, from eleven to twenty-six years of age, who have fallen asleep in Jesus, the last of whom only died a fortnight ago. We likewise wrote down the names of twenty-seven of the orphan boys, who are now alive, and of whom we have every reason to believe that they are the Lord's. With most of them I correspond. Of these I hope three will shortly be ordained. Nine act as catechists and school-masters in various missions, the rest are otherwise engaged; but all of them bear a good report. There may be more, but I do not remember them just now. There are also a number of women, now mothers of children, who do honor to the name which they profess. These, with some of them who have gone to their rest, are our joy and our glory. All these are such as described above, sound Bible christians; and wherever they may be, they will be a stay to a congregation.

Besides these, we have a number of nice young men who are quiet, consistent, moral characters, attentive to the means of grace, communicants, and bearing a good report, and I hope to find many of them hereafter in heaven.

Now with such a seal upon our labours among the orphans, we take courage and go on in the name of the Lord; and maintain that orphan institutions are means for establishing and consolidating christianity in India.

But there are also some objections to these institutions which we must not pass over.

1. "The number of conversions from orphans is small in comparison to the number of unconverted orphans. These are but nominal christians, and a few of them are worse than many of the Hindus." I allow that there is more chaff than wheat, yet among all our orphan boys there are but *four* who are really bad. All the rest, although but nominal christians, have redeeming qualities about them. I allow they are but nominal christians, yet they are free from the trammels of caste and from the prejudices and vices of many of the Hindus and Muhammadans; and

what is of vast importance, their little ones are willingly given over to be trained in our infant and day schools in the fear and nurture of the Lord; and some of the parents, although very poor, have of late willingly paid something for the books which their children read. We should also not forget that most of them attend the means of grace, and who knows but the seed sown may yet take root? Moreover I should truly rejoice if all the Hindus threw away their idols, broke down their temples, shook off caste, and became nominal christians.

2. Another objection is, "The orphans cost a great deal of money, which might be spent more profitably in other ways." It is true, the children must be fed, clothed and educated; but the amount is after all not so very great. But upon this point I will not enter here, because, first, it applies to orphan institutions in all countries, and, secondly, we never expend the funds of the society for these schools, christian friends giving us willingly and liberally for orphans. Moreover, sufficient has been said to prove that the money expended on orphan institutions is well spent and has the blessing of God on it.

3. A third objection is, "Could not missionaries spend their time more usefully in the first and chief branch of missionary labours, viz. *in preaching?*" In my opinion the missionary that preaches to the young is as usefully engaged in his vocation as he that preaches to adults; each does his duty in the mission establishment, and whatever that branch may be, his usefulness will be in proportion to his faithfulness. But an orphan institution need never and ought never to interfere with the missionary's primary duty, preaching; for there will be in each mission establishment a good day school or college, which the orphans can attend. That also being conducted by missionaries, the orphans will take no harm, for there too they are constantly under christian supervision; and five years' experience has shown me that orphans do take no harm: on the contrary, pious boys will exercise some influence for good on heathen boys in a school of acknowledged christian principles. Thus some Hindu boys told me of one of our lads, S. who always acts and speaks as we all should do; and of E. who was ill and has since fallen asleep in Jesus, it was said by Hindu boys, He need not be afraid to die, for he will go to heaven.

Should there be no such school, the missionary must employ teachers and superintend them. The advanced classes he will of course have to teach himself. Biblical theology he always should; but these branches need no more interfere with his public preaching, than Christ's teaching his disciples at home interfered with his public ministry; and should he occasionally have to spend an additional hour with them, as his Master did with his disciples, that hour will be well spent.

Where trades are being carried on, such as presses, there ought to be European superintendents; where tailoring, carpet-making and the like are being carried on, the missionary's wife must step in and superintend the work; for agriculture our aid is not required for the present. To one point, however, the missionary that has the charge of orphans must make

up his mind. If he wishes to do justice to his charge, he must give up the idea of distinguishing himself in literary pursuits, because he will find no leisure to do so. The honors gained thereby he must leave to his brethren, and he can safely do so, for hereafter he will be no loser in heaven. Whilst I therefore acknowledge that preaching the gospel to adults should never be neglected because of an orphan institution, it being impossible for any missionary to spend his time better than in preaching; I maintain that the training of orphans in the fear and nurture of the Lord is a most important means of establishing and consolidating christianity in India, and should never be lost sight of; and therefore, my brethren, who have such institutions, "Be ye stedfast, immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."

The trade of carpet manufacture was formerly carried on in our institution and superintended by Mr. Leupolt and Mr. Broadway; but we had to give it up, because it did not pay. We could cope with the natives, for our patterns were superior, and all our dyes were set with mordants, but we were beaten by the jails. They took up the trade and sold manufactured articles cheaper than we could purchase the raw materials. Moreover this trade did not seem to us to be a healthy one. At present we have book-binding and agriculture, both of which are carried on without any superintendence from us. All we have to do, is to look over the accounts.

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